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SOVIET UNION INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

FOREIGN TRADE FIRMS TRANSFERRED TO INDUSTRIAL JURISDICTION

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 4, 1987 insert (not paginated)

[Text] The on-going improvement of foreign economic activity, advancement of direct manufacturers, primarily of mechanical engineering products on the foreign market necessitate a corresponding rearrangement. The list of ministries and enterprises authorized to perform foreign trade transactions was published in the *Foreign Trade* magazine (No. 3, 1987). At the request of Soviet and foreign readers *Foreign Trade* is now presenting a list of goods whose export-import operations have been transferred from the Foreign Trade Ministry to industry.

The foreign trade associations: Avtoexport, Zapchastexport, Medexport, Sojuzchimexport, Stankoimport, Strojmaterialintorg, Traktoroexport and Energomachexport have been transferred to the corresponding ministries.

SUMMARIZED DATA

on setting up foreign trade firms within research-production and production associations, enterprises and organizations
(as on March 4, 1987)

Ministry	Production association, enterprise	Range of goods	Foreign trade organization within the Foreign Trade Ministry from which (or are transferred
MINENERGOMASH (USSR Ministry of Power Engineering)	Izhorski Zavod production association, Leningrad	excavators and their spare parts	Machinexport
	Leningradskii Metallicheski Zavod production association	spare parts for power equipment	Energomachexport
	Nevskii Zavod production association, Leningrad	turbocompressors and their spare parts	Energomachexport
	Krasnyi Koteishchik production association, Tapanrog	accessories and completing items for boilers, spare parts	Techmachexport
	Kharkovski Turbinny Zavod production association	turbines and spare parts	Energomachexport
MINTYAZHMASH (USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Engineering)	Uralsmash production association, Sverdlovsk	drilling excavators and their spare parts	Machinexport
	Bryanski Mashinostroitelny Zavod production association	diesel locomotives and their spare parts, diesels	Energomachexport
MINELEKTROTECHPROM (USSR Ministry of Electrical Engineering Industry)	Cable industry research and production association, Moscow	cable products	Raznoimport
	Elektrosila production association, Leningrad	hydro and turbogenerators, electrical machines for individual application, spare parts	Energomachexport
	V.V. Kuibyshev Elektrozavod production association, Moscow	electric irons	Technointorg
	Zaporozhtransformator production association	distributing devices	Energomachexport
	Svetotekhnika production association, Saransk	electric lamps, special lamps	Raznoexport
MINAVTOPROM (USSR Ministry of Automobile Industry)	AvtoVAZ production association, Togliatti	cars and their spare parts	Avtoexport
	Moskvich production association, Moscow	cars and their spare parts	Avtoexport
	GAZ production association, Gorky	cars and their spare parts	Avtoexport
	KamAZ production association, Brezhnev	lorries and dump-trucks	Avtoexport
	ZIL production association, Moscow	lorries and their spare parts	Avtoexport
	AvtoZAZ production association, Zaporozhye	cars and their spare parts	Avtoexport
	BelavtoMAZ production association, Zhodino	dump-trucks and lorries and their spare parts	Avtoexport

MINBELKHOZMASH
(USSR Ministry of Tractor and
Agricultural Machinery
Industry)

MINPRIBOR
(USSR Ministry of Instrument
Making, Means of Automation
and Control Systems)

MINSTANKOPROM
(USSR Ministry of Machine-
Tool and Instrument-Making
Industry)

MINCHIMMASH
(USSR Ministry of Machine
Building for Chemical
Industry)

MINZHIVMASH
(USSR Ministry of Machine
Building for Livestock
Breeding)

MINLEGPIKHEPROM
(USSR Ministry for Light and
Food Industry)

MINSTROJDORMASH
(USSR Ministry of Machine
Building for Road
Construction Industry)

MINCHIMPROM
(USSR Ministry of Chemical
Industry)

MINNEFTECHIMPROM
(USSR Ministry of
Petrochemical Industry)

Minsk Tractor Works production association
Vladimir Tractor Works production association
Lipetsk Tractor Works production association
Kharkov Tractor Works production association

Elektronmash production association, Kiev
Impuls research and production association,
Severodonetsk
Mosrantgen production association, Moscow
Elektronmash research and production association,
Leningrad
Burevestnik research and production association,
Leningrad
Elektron production association, Sumy
Prompribor production association, Orel
First Moscow Watch Factory

Ivanovo machine-tool association
Krasny Proletary machine-tool production
association, Moscow
October Revolution machine-tool production
association, Minsk
Machine-tool production association, Odessa
M. Gorky machine-tool production association, Kiev
Press-forging production association, Voronezh
Machine-tool production association of heavy and
unique machine tools, Ulyanovsk
Machine-tool production association, Ryazan

M. V. Frunze machine-building research and
production association, Sumy
Progress chemical engineering production
association, Berdichev
Oil engineering production association, Volgograd
Kislorodmash research and production association,
Odessa
Rigaselmash production association

Cheboksary shuttleless loom production association
Atlant domestic refrigerator production association,
Minsk

Mogilev Strojavtoliya production association
Odessa January Uprising heavy crane-building
production association
Krasny Ekskavator production association, Kiev
Tallinn Talleks production association

Polimer production association, Novopolotsk
Krasitel production association, Rubezhnoe

Organicheski Sintez production association, Kazan

Novopolotskorgsintez production association

Bashneftekhimzavody territorial association, Ufa

Bobruiskshina production association
Nizhnekamskneftekhim production association

Technological carbon factory, Volgograd
Sintezkauchuk production association, Togliatti

Kirishnefteorgsintez production association

agricultural tractors
T/25 tractors and their spare parts
T/40 tractors and their spare parts
T-150 tractors

SM-20 computers
SM-12-10 computers

RUM-20, RUM-4 apparatus
Inductosyns, three-phase counters

X-ray facilities for scientific and industrial purposes

electron microscopes
thermostats, tensomodels
wrist watches

machine tools, machining centres, modules
numerically controlled machine tools

planing and planomilling machines

radial drilling machines
lathes, multi-spindle and automatic machines
power presses
heavy-duty milling machines

metal-cutting machine tools (lathe group)

pump-compressor and separate chemical equipment

separate chemical equipment

petroleum refining equipment
air-separation installations

trailers and spreaders

looms and their spare parts
domestic refrigerators

equipment for building materials
cranes and their spare parts

wheel-mounted excavators
excavators and their spare parts

high pressure polyethylene, acrylonitrile acid
semi-finished products, dyestuffs and chemical
additives

monoethylene glycol, high-pressure
polyethylene, low-pressure polyethylene

toluene, slack, oil slime, etc.

alcohols, phenol, xylenes, etc.

tyres
ethylcellulose, styrene

technological carbon
synthetic rubber

xylenes

Traktoroexport
Traktoroexport
Traktoroexport
Traktoroexport

Electronorgtekhnik
Electronorgtekhnik

Techanabexport
Stankoimport

Techanabexport

Mashpriborintorg
Mashpriborintorg
Technointorg

Stankoimport
Stankoimport

Stankoimport

Stankoimport

Stankoimport

Stankoimport

Stankoimport

Stankoimport

Energomachexport

Energomachexport

Techmasheexport

Techmasheexport

Traktoroexport

Techmasheexport
Technointorg

Machinoexport
Machinoexport

Machinoexport
Machinoexport

Sojuzchimexport
Sojuzchimexport

Sojuzchimexport

Sojuzchimexport
Sojuznefteexport
Novoexport

Sojuzchimexport
Novoexport

Raznoimport
Raznoimport
Sojuzchimexport
Sojuzgazexport

Sojuzchimexport
Raznoimport
Sojuzchimexport
Novoexport

Sojuzchimexport
Sojuznefteexport
Novoexport
Sojuzgazexport

MINSTROJMATERYAL
(USSR Ministry of Building
Materials Industry)

**USSR ACADEMY OF
MEDICAL SCIENCES**

USSR Academy of
Sciences

Academy of Sciences
of the Ukrainian SSR

Academy of Sciences
of the Ukrainian SSR

Minchimprom
(USSR Ministry of
Chemical Industry)

Mintsvetmet
(USSR Ministry of Non-
Ferrous Metallurgy)

Mintyazhmash
(USSR Ministry of
Heavy and Transport
Engineering)

USSR Academy of
Sciences and Minpribor
(USSR Ministry of
Instrument Making, Means
of Automation and Control
Systems)

Minzdrav RSFSR
(RSFSR Ministry of
Public Health)

Novorossiysk Novorostsement plant
Kirovogradnerudprom production association
Chelyabinskmmamor production association
Sayanmmamor stone-milling plant
Lvov Raduga glass production association
Leningrad decorative glass factory
Borisov cut-glass factory
All-Union Cardiological Centre, Moscow

Interbranch scientific technical
complexes
Biogen (Shemyakin research institute)

E. O. Paton Electric Welding Institute, Kiev

Powder Metallurgy, Kiev

Meml'any, Vladimir

Mekhanobr, Leningrad

Metallurgmash, Moscow

Scientific Instruments, Leningrad

Eye Microsurgery, Moscow

cement
granite
marble
marble
graded glass ware
cut-glass ware
graded glass ware

Stroymaterialintorg
Stroymaterialintorg
Stroymaterialintorg
Raznoexport
Raznoexport
Raznoexport

SUMMARIZED DATA

on transferring export-import operations from the Foreign Trade
Ministry's system to USSR ministries and departments in line with
the enactment No. 991 of August 19, 1985

Foreign trade associations within the Foreign Trade Ministry system	Transferred range of goods	Ministry, department	Foreign trade organizat production associatio enterprises
Aviaexport Avtopromimport Avtoexport	Compressors Metalworking and foundry equipment The whole range of V/O Avtoexport excluding Turbocompressors Storage batteries Bowsers	Minchimash Minstankoprom Minavtoprom	Chimmashexport Stankoprom Avtoexport
Almazjuvelirexport Vneshtorgreklama	Amber and silver articles Advertising means	Minenergimash Minelektrotechprom Minchimash Minpribor USSR Goskomsport (USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport)	Energomachexport Sovelektro Chimmashexport Sojuzzagranpribor Sovintersport
Vostokintorg Dalintorg Zapchastexport	Canned fish, sea products Canned fish, sea products Spare parts for vehicles Spare parts for agricultural machinery	USSR Minrybkhaz (USSR Ministry of Fisheries) USSR Minrybkhaz Minavtoprom	Sovrybflot Sovrybflot Avtoexport
Lenintorg Licensintorg	Canned fish, sea products Advertisements during sport events, completing equipment Licences	Minselekhomash USSR Minrybkhaz USSR Goskomsport	Traktorexport Sovrybflot Sovintersport
		Minmedbioprom (USSR Ministry of Medical and Biological Industry)	Medexport

Machinimport	Air cleaning facilities High-voltage equipment Electrical equipment Industrial accessories, completing equipment Spare parts for port facilities	Minenergomash Mintyazhmash Minelektrotechprom Minchimash Minmorflot (USSR Ministry of Merchant Marine)	Energomachexport Tyazhmash Sovelektro Chimmashexport Sovbunker Sovkomflot Tyazhmash Zarubezhgeologia
Machinexport	Mining, lifting and conveying equipment Drilling rigs, geophysical and geological prospecting equipment Geophysical equipment Excavators, diesels Electric machines, lifting and conveying equipment Hydraulic cranes, autoloaders Tractors, spare parts Metallurgical equipment Drilling equipment Excavators, spare parts Excavators, hydraulic hammers, spare parts Equipment for manufacturing brick and asbestos-cement products Auto-chassis-mounted electrical laboratories Instrumentation Spare parts for marine and port equipment	Mintyazhmash USSR Mingeo (USSR Ministry of Geology) Minpribor Minenergomash Minelektrotechprom Minavtoprom Minselkhozmas Minstankoprom Minchimash USSR Minstrojdormash USSR Minstrojdormash USSR Minstrojdormash Minelektrotechprom Minpribor Minmorflot	Sojuzzagranpribor Energomashexport Sovelektro Avtoexport Traktorexport Stankimport Chimmashexport Talleks production association, Tallinn Krasny Ekskavator pro association, Kiev Stromavtoliniya produk association, Mogilev Sovelektro Sojuzzagranpribor Sovbunker Sovkomflot Medexport
Mashpriborintorg	The whole range of goods of Medexport excluding: Medical instruments Illumination engineering products, illumination sources Medical equipment, spare parts, instruments, laboratory ware, spectacle frames, lenses, portable lamps	Minmedbioprom (USSR Ministry of Medical and Biological Industry) Minpribor Minelektrotechprom Minvneshtorg (USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade)	Sojuzzagranpribor Sovelektro Techsnal export
Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga	Operations for publishing certain types of maps	USSR Chief Administration of Geodesy and Cartography	Sojuzkarta
Metallurgimport	Electrothermic and welding equipment Metal structures Foundry equipment Rolling mill shop construction based on a "2000" rolling mill at the Magnitogorsk iron and steel works Horticultural and olen-cultural implements	Minelektrotechprom Mintyazhmash Minstankoprom GKES (State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations) Minselkhozmas USSR Minnybkhaz	Sovelektro Tyazhmash Stankimport Sojuzvneshtrojimport
Novoexport	Various fish, frozen fish, sea products, canned fish and crabs		Traktorexport Sovrybflot
Prodintorg	Pedigree cattle, zoo animals	USSR Gosagroprom (USSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex)	Agrointorg
Prommashimport	Various equipment for specific production (insulating, impregnating, fibre, etc.) Equipment, machine tools Completing equipment for paper-making machines Construction of the Ardinski cellulose factory	Minelektrotechprom Minstankoprom Minchimash GKES USSR Gosstab (USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply) Minelektrotechprom USSR Gosstab USSR Goskomizdat (USSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Bookselling)	Sovelektro Stankimport Chimmashexport Sojuzvneshtrojimport Vneshtromtekhobmen
Promsynimport	Ferrous metallurgy products through Intermetall		
Raznoimport	Cable products Goods exchange operations Foil for stamping		Sovelektro Vneshtromtekhobmen Vneshtorgizdat
Raznoexport	Illumination engineering products Glass and cut-glass ware Sports, hunting and camping equipment The whole range of goods of Sojuzvneshtrojimport	Minelektrotechprom USSR Minstrojmaterialy USSR Goskomasport GKES Minchimprom Minchimprom USSR Gosagroprom	Sovelektro Strojmaterialintorg Sovinterasport Sojuzvneshtrojimport Sojuzchimexport Agrointorg
Sojuzvneshtrojimport	Chemical gases and elements		
Sojuzgazexport	Lubricating oils		
Sojuznaftexport	Fresh, dried and canned vegetables and fruits, foodstuffs, wines and vodkas		
Sojuzplodoimport	Sodium sulphate Graphite, talc, kaolin	Minchimprom USSR Minstrojmaterialy Minchimprom	Sojuzchimexport Strojmaterialintorg Sojuzchimexport
Sojuzpromexport	Artificial intestines		
Sojuzpushnina	Furs, karakul, fur clothes	USSR Gosagroprom	Agrointorg
Sojuzchimexport	The whole range of goods of Sojuzchimexport, excluding: Raw material for manufacturing medicines Printing ink, photographic materials	Minchimprom USSR Goskomizdat Minmedbioprom USSR Goskomizdat	Sojuzchimexport Medexport Vneshtorgizdat

Stankimport	The whole range of goods of Stankimport, excluding: Industosyna Tools Mechanical and hydraulic presses Resolvers Bearings	Minstankoprom Minpribor Minenergomash Mintyazhmash Minelektrotechprom Minavtoprom USSR Ministromaterialy	Stankimport Sojuzzagranpribor Energomashexport Tyazhmash Sovielekto Avtoexport Strojmaterialintorg
Strojmaterialintorg	The whole range of goods of Strojmaterialintorg, excluding: Raw material for manufacturing medicines Goods exchange operations Film and other materials		
Sudoimport	Ships for scrap, repair of ships, spare parts Diesel generators' completion, spare parts Compressors Sports vessels and their completing items	Minmedbioprom USSR Gosnab Minchimprom Minmorflot Mintyazhmash Minchimash Goskomasport	Medexport Vneshpromtechobma Sojuzchimexport Sovbunker Sovkomflot Tyazhmash Chimmasheexport Sovintarasport Sovielekto Stankimport Chimmasheexport Medexport
Techmashimport	Extrusion lines for manufacturing cable products Thermoplastic automatic machines Completing equipment Evaporators, fermentators, dryers for granulating lysin of the SVT type	Minelektrotechprom Minstankoprom Minchimash Minmedbioprom	Energomachexport Tyazhmash Sovielekto Traktoreexport Sojuzzagranpribor Stankimport Chimmasheexport Medexport
Techmasheexport	Pumps, compressors Industrial equipment Electric machines, technological equipment Spare parts for tractors Step-and-repeat machines Hydraulic equipment, lubrication fittings Chemical equipment Type, matrices	Minenergomash Mintyazhmash Minelektrotechprom Minsekhzhomash Minpribor Minstankoprom Minchimash USSR Goskomizdat Minelektrotechprom	Energomachexport Tyazhmash Sovielekto Traktoreexport Sojuzzagranpribor Stankimport Chimmasheexport Vneshorgizdat Sovielekto
Technointorg	Household and recreational facilities, illumination engineering products Clocks and watches, cine and photo cameras, electric devices	Minpribor	Sojuzzagranpribor
Technopromimport	Equipment for manufacturing illumination engineering products Equipment for preparing and packing medicines Spare parts for equipment used in the knitwear industry Construction of a factory for manufacturing granulated potatoes Construction of a meat processing and packing factory	Minelektrotechprom Minmedbioprom USSR Goskomasport GRES GRES	Sovielekto Medexport Sovintarasport Sojuzvneshstrojimport Sojuzvneshstrojimport
Traktoreexport	The whole range of goods of Traktoreexport, excluding: Machines for spreading fertilizers	Minsekhzhomash USSR Minzhivmash (USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Livestock Breeding) USSR Gosnab Minchimprom USSR Goskomizdat USSR Minrybkhaz Minchimprom USSR Gosnab USSR Gosagroprom Minpribor	Traktoreexport Rigasetmash plant, Rig Vneshpromtechobma Sojuzchimexport Vneshorgizdat Sovrybkhaz Sojuzchimexport Vneshpromtechobma Agrointorg Sojuzzagranpribor
Exporties	Products made from secondary raw material Light sensitive paper, barytic photo support Binding materials		
Exportijon	Net materials Synthetic and man-made fibres		
Exportkhib	Goods exchange operations Seeds, seedlings		
Electronorgtechnika	Computers, cash-registers, Typewriters Starting resistances	Minelektrotechprom Minenergomash Mintyazhmash Minelektrotechprom Minavtoprom Minsekhzhomash Minpribor Minstankoprom Minchimash USSR Ministromaterialy	Sovielekto Energomachexport Tyazhmash Sovielekto Avtoexport Traktoreexport Sojuzzagranpribor Stankimport Chimmasheexport Strojmaterialintorg
Energomachexport	Power equipment Power equipment, wagons Power equipment, electric locomotives Petrol engines Tractor engines Welding equipment Reduction gears Pumps, compressors Boilers		

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/9274
CSO: 1812/223

BRIEFS

OIL POLLUTION CONVENTION DECREE--Moscow, 27 May (TASS)--The Soviet Union has acceded to the international convention on creating an international fund to compensate for damage due to oil pollution, dating from 18 December 1971. The decree on this was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 25 May 1987. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0655 GMT 27 May 87 LD] /6662

CSO: 1825/211

MOSCOW TV AIRS TELEBRIDGE WITH U.S. CONGRESS

LD242223 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1749 GMT on 23 May carries an 80-minute recorded telebridge program linking officials of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow with U.S. Congress members in Washington, D.C. "Under the General Motto: 'New Thinking in the Nuclear Age'."

The program opens with video recalling the first Soviet-U.S. manned space flight. When Cosmonaut Leonov was asked how he liked American food, he said the important thing is not what you eat, but who you eat it with. Video is shown of previous telebridges.

On a large screen in the studio, William (Yurie), who teaches negotiation at Harvard, introduces himself as chairman of the American side. "This gathering," he declares, "is an historic moment: It is the first time that U.S. congressmen have gathered together with their Soviet colleagues in the Supreme Soviet to discuss common problems" by this means, and we hope it will be the first of several.

He then introduces the American team: Congressmen Clay Shaw, Alan Cranston, Claudine Schneider, George Brown, Jim Leach, and Tom Downey.

The Soviet chairman, Leonid Zolotarevskiy of USSR Gostelradio, introduces the Soviet side: Irina Nikolayevna Blokhina, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and director of the Gorkiy Research Institute of Epidemiology and Microbiology; Academician Georgiy Arkadiyevich Arbatov, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who is also a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission; V.V. Zagladin, first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission, and deputy chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group; Nikolay Ivanovich Maslennikov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Side of Nationalities Plan and Budget Commission; Pavel Georgiyevich Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Deputy Kirill Yuriyevich Lavrov, actor at the Leningrad Academic Great Dramatic Art Theater and member of the Soviet of the Union Commission on Education and Culture.

(Yurie) says the aim is not to recall differences, but to try to bridge them and above all to listen to each other; too often, it's been a dialogue of the deaf.

Cranston, Shaw, Downey and Leach give a few facts about themselves, followed by Blokhina, Gilashvili, Lavrov, and Arbatov, who then show family snapshots. Arbatov says: "My name is Arbatov. I am the director of the institute that studies your country and Canada. Well, in studying your country one can never be bored. That you know. Knowing that it's an important job, I strive for mutual understanding. I work both in the Supreme Soviet and--unlike you, we're not professionals, we have to work at something else as well as earn our living. [sentence as heard] I am a member of the Supreme Soviet. I've brought along three photographs that will probably tell you more than words would about me and my family. This is typical of our country. The first photograph is of my father when he was 20 in uniform: He was a soldier in the civil war. This is me when I was 20. I am also in uniform. I was a soldier in the war that we fought together against fascism. This is my son, who is 26. Fortunately, he has not been a soldier. He studies the problems of disarmament and I am very pleased about that, because the wars in which my father and I participated took many lives, but nonetheless some of us returned. If there were a war now, no one would come back. There would be no home front, and the war would wipe out, along with me, our grandchildren and our entire family. And so I think I have come with these thoughts to this telebridge, to this meeting with you: that it largely depends on us to see to it that that never happens."

(Yurie) shows pictures of the U.S. congressmen "to give you a sense of the kind of place where these gentlemen and gentlewomen work." The first is a picture of the exterior of the capitol. Then there's video of congress in session, over explanation in English with superimposed Russian translation of American constitutional arrangements. Reagan is seen in a derim jacket signing something. Commentary emphasizes the system of checks and balances that guards against abuse of power by an individual. Reagan is shown making a speech.

A Soviet film shows the Supreme Soviet building in the Kremlin, and there is footage of the Soviet leadership, including Gorbachev, attending a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A commentary briefly explains the procedures of the Supreme Soviet.

George Brown, in the Washington studio, gives a brief account of his political career.

Zolotarevskiy: "I think that Georgiy Arkadiyevich Arbatov should now tell us about his personal experiences and about our legislative system."

Arbatov: "I'll make a start, and Vadim Valentinovich Zagladin will no doubt continue the topic. I would like to point out that both you and we are marking important anniversaries this year. We are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the foundation of our state, and you are making the 200th anniversary of the adoption of your constitution. These two figures speak for themselves. They show how much older your political institutions are. And if you also

consider that of these 70 years in our country more than half were accounted for by wars and recovery following wars--we had perhaps not more than 3 decades of normal life--you will realize that the period is even shorter than it seems. Why am I saying this? We are currently passing through a very interesting period of our history. I have in mind restructuring and openness. I daresay these words don't need to be translated into English since they have become international in the same way as Sputnik did once upon a time.

"We are critically examining and closely analyzing all aspects of our lives, everything we do. And the Supreme Soviet is not outside this critical analysis. I would be less than honest with you if I did not say that many aspects of the activity of the Supreme Soviet elicit a critical attitude in our country. And we discuss this openly: we not only discuss it, but take action. In the last couple of years quite a lot has already changed."

Congresswomen Schneider gives some autobiographical details and talks about her Rhode Island constituency.

Zolotarevskiy: "I would like to give Deputy Vadim Valentinovich Zagladin a chance to speak. Over to you."

Zagladin: "I'm Vadim Zagladin, a Muscovite born and bred. Admittedly, my father was a peasant from outside Moscow, but I'm a Muscovite myself. Well, I didn't want to become a runner like Alan Cranston, and it's obvious why--I've had this build since I was young. I wanted to be a historian. In part I succeeded. I graduated from an institute as a historian, then I taught, then I worked as a journalist. Since 1964--23 years now--I have been working in the party's Central Committee, in the International Department. I am first deputy chief of the department. In 1975 I was elected to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and in 1979 to the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is my second term here. I would like to draw your attention to the following point. Although I am a Muscovite, my constituency is in Turkmenia, southern Turkmenia at that, the southernmost point in the Soviet Union. I must tell you it's a hot place--both from the point of view of temperature, and from the point of view of work--there is a lot of work there. There is, as I say, a very great deal of work because it is quite a complex, rapidly-developing constituency--there is industry, gas, new deposits have been discovered there.

"On the other hand, it is an agriculturally very highly-developed constituency: there is fine-staple cotton, wool. There is a rapidly-growing population. So I, as a deputy, find a large number of questions arising in connection with these problems, with the growth of the population. There is the problem of housing construction, particularly in the towns, the small towns. Then the problems of education and school building: the numbers of school-children are growing rapidly, faster than schools can be built.

"Of course there are individual problems there. Now, we have this system of electoral instructions. We don't usually give any promises, promises to do what we are asked. But when I held my election campaign, instructions were passed by a vote at meetings, after a discussion, naturally. I now have a whole list of instructions to carry out during my term of office. To be honest, not everything can be done. There is a lot of work, it is interesting work."

Zolotarevskiy then presents some of the others in the Moscow studio and the camera pans the audience.

(Yurie) introduces as "one of our expert witnesses," Colette Schulman of Columbia University, who has concerned herself with Soviet-American relations for more than 30 years, and Benjamin Reed, who was under secretary of state under Carter. There is also one astronaut in the U.S. audience: Russell Schweickart, who is sitting in the back row.

Maslennikov talks about his career, the April Plenum of the CPSU, and the importance of the economy. He describes the work of the Plan and Budget Commission. Blokhina asked whether "our American colleagues" have obligations to their electorates like those of Supreme Soviet deputies, which they must fulfill. Claudine Schneider replies that most congressmen are limited in the political promises they can make, because there is never any guarantee of being able to fulfill them. Cranston explains that they only promise to try; if you don't try, you may not be reelected. Lavrov talks about his work in the Supreme Soviet. Because he is an actor, theater people tend to regard him as their representative, regardless of where they live.

Zagladin says: "I've been listening with interest to our American colleagues. The exchange of experience is very interesting, and perhaps prompts one to reflect on many things one may not oneself have thought about. What I've just been thinking is that our voters, in my constituency for example, are perhaps more practical, more pragmatic than those in the United States. So, if I visit the constituency--and the more I do so the better, there's not doubt and no problem about that--still they judge me, for instance, not on whether I visit them or not, but by what I do: whether I carry out my instructions or not. We have the rule that the voters can recall their candidate early--their deputy, that is--and he ceases to be a deputy. That is a right that is used, and recently it has been used quite actively. So we always have to remember that. Our commission, strangely enough, constantly encounters the question of relations with the administration, the government. How is that arranged in your country? Here, for example, we do it like this: Recently, we examined the question--connected, incidentally, with a decision by the U.S. Congress; there was a report on a violation of treaties with the Soviet Union, you are all familiar with it of course--we examined the question of how far our side was observing, fulfilling and observing, those treaties. The general conclusion we came to was that it was doing so. But there was quite a serious discussion, and we called the marshals in their epaulettes as well as representatives of other departments and questioned them. They gave us the evidence, showed us the figures, and although we certainly agreed with them that there was little that particularly called for comment, as it were, nonetheless we did make a few recommendations. What are the relations, with you, between the commissions and the administration when important issues such as these are under discussion?

Downey replies that relations with the administration depend on whether one is a Democrat or a Republican, the President being a Republican. The Democrats have differences with the administration, for instance on arms control.

There is sharp disagreement on whether nuclear tests should be banned in the United States. Disagreement is public. Congressmen are concerned about whether they will be reelected. They are interested in electoral reform in the USSR, Downey continues. What changes will there be?

Downey asks whether the deputies are concerned that they could be defeated by local opposition. Arbatov replies as follows to Downey's "very interesting question": "You know, I wouldn't say that--actually, I've been elected three times--that I was calm every time, even though so far I haven't had any rivals. Well, in the first place, all that happens before the election affects whether they will elect you or not. Now the meetings go also plays a great part. Then, if a large number of voters vote against you, it is a very great moral blow. It implies a poor assessment of your work. As to what will be--you know 2 years ago we did not imagine much that has now happened. So there will be much that is difficult for us now to foresee. But I think I'll probably guess right if I say that for sure, more will be demanded of us all, the deputies of the Supreme Soviet. More will be required of us. We'll have to work more seriously with the electorate. I think we have to prepare ourselves for this. Our life will in all probability be not easier but more difficult, and that's no bad thing."

Gilashvili quips that he is--with all due respect to Arbatov--a professional, and well paid. People at home say that when he returns from Moscow, he has come back to collect his salary. He tries to be very accessible. "I'd like to end by asking a question in this connection," Gilashvili says. "We are sometimes reproached that all our decisions are made without unanimity, at our sessions. Well, with us this is preceded, of course, because they are worked through thoroughly in the standing commissions and in part this does not give rise to dispute. Well, in the U.S. Congress you also have debates, and all that, but the President has the right to veto. What's the point of this? And then there is the situation of the congressmen themselves: the issue has been hotly debated, and then--veto! How do they feel about this?"

George Brown replies that when the President uses his veto, "We believe that our analysis of the bill was weightier than what the President had at his disposal."

Downey expresses interest in "glasnost" and democratization in the USSR, and, in particular, in the new electoral law. "How will it be implemented?"

Zagladin: "Speaking of problems, the first problem is that the law does not yet exist. It is still in course of preparation and won't be ready till sometime in the fall. Until the fall, we'll be carrying out, if you like, a widescale experiment. We'll be having elections to the local soviets of peoples' deputies in June, and in the course of those elections we'll already be investigating certain innovations. For instance, we'll have quite a few constituencies where there will be several candidates, constituencies with several seats for deputies, and multimandate constituencies. Let me just explain that: There will be several seats in one constituency, and many candidates, several candidates, perhaps an unlimited number, for one seat."

We've decided to do it in this way: that suppose in the constituency there are five seats, and six people get 50 percent plus one vote. Then five deputies will be elected, and one will be a deputy deputy, as it were, an alternate deputy in case one of the actual deputies drops out. Some countries have a system like that, and we have decided to see how it works with us.

"At present we do not know how it will turn out. The process of nomination of candidates to the local soviets is now beginning. This is also being done in a very special way: Many candidates are being nominated, there is discussion, practically every collective is putting forward some candidate of its own. Then there is discussion and comparison. We'll see. I repeat, it's an experiment, but it is an experiment in the course of which we are developing a new approach to the electoral system. We are bringing in competition in the course of the election campaign in order to really democratize it. I've said that I don't think there will be opposition on the political plane, but there will be a variety of views and clashes of opinion."

Leach asks whether there will be a multi-party system in which anyone can run for office. What about open campaigns with public discussion on television and via advertising?

Arbatov: "I'd like to say first of all that we seem to have a difference of political cultures. For us it would be unthinkable for someone to put himself forward as a candidate and say, I want to be president, or I want to be a deputy. I'm not saying this as a reproach to the Americans. But they simply have a different political culture. There, a man comes out and says, I want to be president or I want to be a deputy. With us that would be considered the height of immodesty, though in his heart a person may want that. With us, the nomination is usually made by others--that is, it is always made by others. With us, the right to nominate is possessed by collectives, organizations, trade unions, youth and creative organizations, groups of people' but you can't put your candidacy forward yourself.

"As for multi-party and one-party systems, you know, well, America in the first place, as far as I remember, has not always been a multi-party country. There have been whole periods when, under the same Constitution, the United States has been one-party. Your Constitution says nothing, as far as I recall, about a multi-party system. Second, the number of parties tells you nothing either of good or bad, because in Italy for example there are eight parties instead of two, but it would be difficult to say that Italy is four times more democratic than the United States. Our historical development has been such that we have one party. Actually, at the beginning of the revolution there was not one party, but two, and even a faction of a third party, I think: the internationalist Mensheviks. Then they withdrew from the coalition of their own accord and a one-party system was formed. In other socialist countries, there are several parties.

"One can imagine in principle such a system with the same property system and the same social relations as with us with not one party, but two, three, or four. That is possible in principle and in theory; we have had debates on

this, and, in effect, have come to the conclusion that there is nothing in it that would contradict the system itself. But with us this question has not arisen, and to be honest I find it hard to imagine from where and how another party could emerge in our country. I would also like to remind you that the question was raised at the January Plenum of the Central Committee--this was an important event in the life of our party--that we must accept and understand that people who are not party members should also occupy major posts in the state and in the organs of power and everywhere, non-party members. We must also accept that the party must not be an elite organization that puts forward candidates for positions of leadership exclusively and within itself. This is one more of the, well, if you like, new trends: There is a new stress, a new emphasis among us now in political development."

Blokhina says the great authority of the Communist Party derives from its being the party that helped the Soviet people to endure the civil war, restore the economy, come through the Great Patriotic War and conquer space.

(Yurie) asks: "How can we strengthen Soviet-U.S. relations?" In particular, "What concrete steps need to be taken to strengthen relations between the governments of our countries, and, second, what concrete steps need to be taken to strengthen contacts between our citizens so that lasting foundations can be laid for lasting peace?"

Benjamin Reed says testifying before "committees" both of Congress and of the Supreme Soviet is an unnerving experience. Shortly before Kennedy became president, Tommy Thompson, "perhaps our best and wisest ambassador to the USSR since the war," told him that both governments "see the same events but interpret them differently; they hear the same words, but give them a quite different meaning."

Differences in social systems, language, traditions, views, values, and interests are all real and we must not pretend they don't exist. For many years there has been a very strong rivalry between our two countries--but there are opportunities to improve relations. There must be two-way understanding: We must understand each other objectively, taking both agreement and disagreement into account. Since the war there have been two 6-year periods without summit meetings; today, the leaders meet more often and we are all glad about that.

On relations between citizens, Colette Schulman describes a meeting of Soviet and American women in which she took part.

During the meeting, according to Colette Schulman, American women learned of the way the war had taken away a whole generation of Soviet men. Citizen exchange puts relations between the two countries into concrete terms.

Zolotarevskiy: "Let's ask our experts what they think."

Radomir Bogdanov, identified by screen caption: "I would like to take the opportunity to convey greetings from me and my colleagues in the room here to

Congressmen Brown and Schneider. We remember them very well, their visit to the institute. We remember the very frank conversations they held with us. We ask them not to forget our existence. Our open invitation to visit us remains in force. Now to get to the heart of the issue. It seems that nothing Colette Schulman said evokes any objections, and there cannot be any other view as to whether contacts are needed or not. It's just that I am concerned, or rather somewhat uneasy, about one point. No doubt she herself fully realizes that in the final analysis what is happening here today, the existence of contacts between citizens of the Soviet Union and the United States depend on the level of political relations that exist between our two countries.

"Our citizens do not exist in a vacuum, either yours or ours. They exist in the context of a particular state and a particular policy of these states. You will not doubt recall, and even I recall, that there were periods in our relations when, because of bad political relations, there were essentially no contacts between us at all. I just want to point out to you that contacts as such depend on the realities of life, they depend on the state of political relations. On the other hand, it is no doubt the case that the present day is such that personal contacts also effect the improvement of political relations. There is a certain dialectic here. We should not forget the one or the other, and each must be allotted its proper place in this extremely important matter of improving and developing contacts between the peoples of our countries."

Zolotarevskiy: "Professor Guliyev, over to you."

Guliyev: "Well, a large number of questions have been raised here. They are not all of the same class or the same level, so to speak. I can only discuss certain ones, and, as an independent expert, as distinct from our Supreme Soviet members, express an academic point of view, and my personal point of view as a citizen. I would say that despite the fact that we are today very critically examining certain periods of our political history and the activities of our former political leaders, my generation, for instance, remembers above all not the mistakes or shortcomings which were permitted or committed when Khrushchev was leader of our party and state, but, among his first acts, his very bold and courageous action to defend peace, to defend and consolidate relations between the Soviet Union and the United States--his trip to the United States. It took place despite the fact that there were objections, as far as I know, from certain circles in the United States, and it seems to me that there were also some doubts in Soviet circles about this.

"We are highly critical at present. We are critically assessing, both positively and negatively, the events that took place at the period when Leonid Brezhnev was leader of the party and state. But at the same time, in the memory of my generation and children there remain those actions that are associated with his initiatives, or at any rate there remains the fact that he voiced the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Soviet leadership on a number of vital questions concerning the existence of mankind: arms limitation, attempts to find agreement, the concluding of the SALT-I treaty, or,

agreement, the concluding of the SALT-II treaty, the concluding of the open-ended ABM agreement, his work to normalize relations with the FRG, and so on and so forth. This despite the fact, I repeat, that we critically assess certain actions of this period above all in the sphere of our domestic affairs.

"Despite the fact that, as my colleagues from the legislature have said, we are today holding vigorous debates on vitally important questions, the broadest sections of our country's population, men and women, young and old, party and non-party members, representatives of all nations, generations, professions, and so on, are united in their support for the initiatives of our government in the international sphere, for stimulating these initiatives and widening the sphere in which we can have dealings with one another and come to understand each other better."

Senator Cranston calls U.S.-Soviet relations "the most important relations ever to have existed between two peoples in human history." He recalls the joint defeat of Hitler and notes the power of the two countries' armaments. "We need to reach mutual understanding on various levels, we need free exchange between citizens."

Zolotarevskiy: "Deputy Zagladin wants to reply to that brief statement from Senator Cranston. Over to you, Vadim Valentinovich."

Zagladin: Senator Cranston, I'm very glad to hear your remarks, and I must say that I listened with pleasure. I am glad that we have long been acquainted, and it is always good to hear good things from a good acquaintance. Yes, indeed, the development of contacts between us, between governments, parliaments, cities and citizens, is an extremely important thing, and we are striving to encourage it in every way we can. All sorts of problems arise, but I think we must surmount them."

The chairmen in the two studios ask for suggestions for future topics. Downey suggests arms control and the environment. Shaw notes the discussion has been "very animated and frank" particularly in the last few minutes: problems must be tackled on the basis of "exchanges between us." In Moscow, Gilashvili notes the importance of maximizing the good things and minimizing the bad things in such discussions. Lavrov wants art and culture to be the topic of future telebridges. Blokhina suggests the topic of "how to give all people the right to life" and then the health service and the environment. Maslennikov offers the topic of problems of economic and social development.

Zagladin's closing remarks are: "Our two countries really are very different. Up to now we have frequently seen this as an obstacle, as something complex and difficult, a source of conflicts. However, differences and distinctions are also a source of richness, a source of the different experience we can utilize. But for that we need somehow not only to get to know each other better, but also to have a better picture of each other, and remember all the time who you are dealing with. My suggestion is to discuss how we, how our peoples picture each other."

Arbatov: "You know, the topic I want to put forward was suggested to me by Speaker Wright and Comrade Gorbachev. When Speaker Wright--Congressman Downey was part of the delegation--gave Comrade Gorbachev a beautifully wrapped souvenir, he said it was a stone taken from the oldest part of the foundations of the U.S. Congress. Comrade Gorbachev immediately replied: You mean that we ought to gather stones? He had in mind not throwing stones. I propose the theme of 'gathering stones.'"

In Washington, Claudine Schneider says she is an optimist and thinks the idea of holding telebridges will be fruitful. Congressman Brown notes that future "controversial" topics for telebridges are to be arms control and human rights and thinks that regular telebridges will foster mutual understanding. (Yurie) likens the two countries to two mountain climbers tied to one rope: the way to the top must be found together. Zolotarevskiy ends with a quote from Benjamin Franklin to the effect that there has never been a good war or a bad peace.

/6662

CSO: 1807/332

BRIEFS

SOVIET-ITALIAN METALLURGY SESSION--Moscow May 18 TASS--The 17th Session of the Soviet-Italian working group for ferrous metallurgy, which opened here today, will discuss questions of further development of bilateral economic and scientific-technological cooperation. The Italian delegation includes representatives of the state concern "Finsider", big private metallurgical firms and companies. Soviet and Italian specialists are more actively exchanging information materials, participate in joint symposiums and seminars on perspective scientific-technological themes. Delegations of specialists of the two countries familiarized themselves with the organization and state of metallurgical production in the USSR and Italy. In the course of the visit to the USSR the members of the Italian delegation will visit the Cherepovets metallurgical complex, the Moscow pipe manufacturing factory and the Central Scientific-Research Ferrous Metallurgy Institute. The session of the working group will last till May 22. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 18 May 87 LD] /6662

CONTRACT WITH ITALIAN FIRM--Moscow, 25 May (TASS)--The first batch of footwear from a new enterprise in Moscow will be supplied to Italy this year and at the beginning of next year. A contract for this was signed here today by the foreign trade organization 'Vneshposyltorg' and the Italian firm 'Cogolo'. This firm also today handed over to its Soviet client, the foreign trade association 'Soyuzvneshstroyimport', a ready-to-operate factory. 'Cogolo' is constructing two further similar factories in the USSR at Kaluga and Tolyatti, which are expected to be handed over for service this year. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1321 GMT 25 May 87 LD] /6662

AIR LINK WITH DUBLIN--Dublin May 21 TASS--An airline linking Dublin, capital of Ireland, with cities in the Soviet Union was opened in a ceremony here. Martin Dully, executive director of the company "Aer Rianta," said at the ceremony that the opening of the new air route between Ireland and the USSR signalled a successful development of business ties between the two countries in the field of air transport. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 0020 GMT 22 May 87 LD] /6662

CONTRACT SIGNED WITH FINLAND--Moscow May 21 TASS--A big contract has been signed here today by the Soviet foreign trade association "Metallurgimport" with the Finnish "Outokumpu" company. Under the contract the USSR is to be

supplied in 1987-1989 with equipment, and design plans and specifications for the reconstruction of an ore-dressing plant of the ore-mining and metallurgical and integrated mill "Pichenganikel" in the city of Zapolyarny (in the north of the Russian Federation). The contract is worth 300 million Finnish marks (nearly 45 million roubles). The technical standards of the equipment and technology supplied to the Soviet Union correspond to the best international standards, a TASS correspondent was told by Pertti Voutilainen, president of the company. The main aim of the modernisation of the ore-dressing plant is to achieve the world's highest labor productivity. The contract concluded, as Pertti Voutilainen hopes, will open good possibilities for our subsequent successful work in the Soviet market. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 0158 GMT 22 May 87 LD] /6662

CSO: 1825/214

BRIEFS

SFRY-CEMA COOPERATION--Yugoslavia highly appraises the results achieved in the course of the successful cooperation with the CEMA countries in the field of foreign trade. This was said in an interview to our correspondent by Milorad Unkovic, Yugoslav deputy federal secretary for foreign trade. Over 40 percent of the republic's trade with foreign countries is with the states which are members of CEMA. For Yugoslavia, which is solving complex economic tasks, the growth in exports is now especially important, Unkovic stressed. Thus, the emphasis is on the task of expanding trade and economic cooperation with the CEMA countries, including the establishment of direct links between individual enterprises. [Text] [Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 1600 GMT 22 May 87 LD] /6662

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REVIEW OF JOURNAL LATINSKAYA AMERIKA NO 3, 1987

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 26 Mar 87 pp 1-4

[Text] M. Chumakova has published an article entitled "El Salvador: Metamorphoses and 'Democratization.'" El Salvador holds a particularly important place in the Central American policy of the Reagan Administration, the author writes. Waging an "undeclared war" against Nicaragua under the slogans of a need to defend the values of Western democracy, the White House had to update the political facades of some regimes in the subregion by helping civilian rulers loyal to the USA come to power. In El Salvador Washington has banked on an alliance of military with the Christian Democrats and is pursuing a line of stage-by-stage "democratization" of the political system of Salvadoran society. The current stage is characterized by pursuance of a comprehensive counter-insurgent strategy evolved by the Pentagon within the framework of the "low-intensity conflicts" doctrine. This strategy provides, alongside military actions, for wide use of psychological operations and implementation of social and economic measures with a view to winning the population's support.

In May 1985 the Army began punitive operations in 11 out of El Salvador's 14 departments. The actions to "clear" the territory controlled by the guerrillas were accompanied with bombings of populated localities and resettlement of peasants from the "areas of conflict."

The mass bombings, persecutions and arrests and the Army's punitive raids have caused an increase in the number of refugees and displaced persons which has no precedents in the country's history. In 1986 about 700,000 Salvadorans were in the Army-controlled camps for displaced persons, over 200,000 saved from the terror, perpetrated by the authorities in Mexico and the Central American countries, and more than a half-million left for the USA. Duarte's phrasemongering about "humanization" of the conflict has resulted in new deprivations for the Salvadorans who are dragging out a miserable existence in the refugee camps or abroad.

"Oil and Ecuador's Foreign Policy" is the subject of an article by I. Akimushkina. Presidential elections were held in Ecuador in 1984. They were won by Leon Febres Cordero, U.S.-educated millionaire and leader of the National Resurrection Front.

Having come to power, the government of Febres Cordero made a stake on encouraging the development of private and foreign capital which is, in his view, the sole force capable of ending the long crisis in Ecuador, the author points out. This policy facilitated the concentration of the national wealth, first of all oil, in the hands of foreign corporations and local oligarchy. In the foreign-policy sphere the new president opted for further rapprochement with Washington.

The ruling quarters of Ecuador continue to intensively develop military cooperation with the USA. Under U.S. pressure, Ecuador's policy vis-a-vis Nicaragua has undergone major evolution. In essence, President Febres Cordero adopted the Reagan Administration's stand on a dialog between the Sandinists and the "contras" and even declared against the legitimate government of that country. As a result, diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed on October 11, 1985.

Ecuador's position on the issues relating to regional cooperation, specifically within the Andes Pact framework, has undergone a considerable change. Cordero opposes unity of the indebted Latin American countries.

The history of Ecuador over the past two decades proves that the drive by its ruling quarters to make oil a chief source of development and the bulwark of independent foreign policy has not justified itself. I. Akimushkina writes. the country was turned into a U.S. oil-producing appendage whose national economy was vastly exploited by multinational corporations in their transfer deals. Ecuador's foreign debt has reached \$8 billion.

In his article "Scientific Achievements in Mexico's Agriculture" Y. Pogorelov writes that unlike other Latin American countries, Mexico has a powerful research base in its agricultural sector. Mexican breeders have developed quite a few heavy-producing grain crop varieties. According to expert estimates, in the early 1980's some wheat varieties produced in Mexico were sown in different parts of the world on a total area of 30 million hectares. In the course of two decades (the 1960's-70's) Mexican breeders came up with 430 new varieties and hybrids of agricultural crops. The credit for these achievements is given first of all to the National Institute of Agricultural Research whose specialists developed 386 crop varieties and hybrids over the period. NIAR is a major research center in which the state invests 10 percent of the money it earmarks for science and technology progress.

NIAR's research network in 1983 consisted of 11 research centers, 55 experimental stations, with more than half of them in areas with rain-fed lands, and 55 experimental plots. More research centers and experimental stations were set up in tropical zones and farm belts affected by bad weather.

NIAR's budget grew from 75 million pesos (\$6 million) in 1973 to 7 billion pesos in 1984, or more than 71 percent of the funds earmarked by the ministry for its research institutions. In spite of Mexico's current financial and economic difficulties, the government of Miguel de la Madrid boosted NIAR's share in the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Resources.

As part of the national program for science and technology development in 1984-1988, NIAR was confronted with the following tasks: step up research efforts stimulating farm output on rain-fed lands and in tropical zones with high humidity; devise more efficient measures for pest control; encourage seed selection work and develop new technologies for the agribusiness.

The magazine also carries the article "The Evolution of U.S.-Colombian Relations" by S. Baburkin, "Chile's Foreign Debt" by H. Cademartori and P. Palma, etc.

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CONTADORA PROCESS, ORIGIN OF 'RIO DE JANEIRO GROUP' DESCRIBED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 87 pp 5-6

[Unsigned Editorial: "The Contadora Process"]

[Text] The Rio de Janeiro meeting of foreign affairs ministers from the countries of the Contadora group and the "support group," which upholds the former's diplomatic efforts aimed at a political settlement of the Central American crisis, was held on 17-19 December and became an event of special significance for Latin America in the past year. As is well known, a proposal was put forward at the meeting to invite J. Perez de Cuellar, the UN general secretary, and J. Baena Soares, the OAS general secretary, to visit the Central American countries along with foreign affairs ministers from the states of both groups. The Latin American press called the adoption of this proposal an unprecedented decision; however, it was not to the taste of the White House, which intended to deflect the peace mission from its constructive course if not to actually disrupt it. It is common knowledge that the initiative put forward in Rio de Janeiro received the approval of the Nicaraguan government, which earlier had come out in favor of a proposal to create an international commission, which would inspect the situation on the Nicaraguan-Honduran border. In Managua, according to a number of observers, they think that a peace mission on such a high international level could truly contribute to the establishment of political dialog between Nicaragua and its northern and southern neighbors, who--against their will--are being dragged by Washington into the conflict on the side of the "contras."

The meeting in Rio de Janeiro provided a new impetus to the Contadora process. In the political circles of the countries participating in both the Contadora group and the Contadora support group the importance of deepening this process is today increasingly linked to "Irangate," the secret military-political machinations of the White House, which are directly related to the fanning of the conflict in Central America. Confirmation of their interventionist nature is to be found in the persistent U.S. desire to do away with "neutralism" in the Central American affairs of the Vinicio Cerezo cabinet in Guatemala and the Arias Sanchez government in Costa Rica (U.S. aid to these countries has recently been reduced). Another indication of this is to be found in information about an attempt on the life of the U.S. counsel in San Jose, which was being prepared by the "contra" forces with the permission of a

number of highly-placed officials of the American administration. According to the plans of its organizers, the assassination of the counsel was supposed to provoke direct U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. The possibility of such uncontrollable terroristic actions gives rise to anti-Americanism, which has increased in the region recently, and at the same time to the desire of the largest Latin American countries to prevent events from developing along a course which is undesirable for the future of the continent.

The meeting in Rio de Janeiro has another not insignificant dimension. In addition to the Central American problem, other issues facing the region's countries were discussed here for the first time within the framework of the two groups: the actions of Great Britain in the South Atlantic and the foreign debt problem. The idea of examining them jointly came arose out of a Mexican initiative side during the recent session of the UN General Assembly. At the Rio de Janeiro meeting this idea was fleshed out, with Argentina and Brazil participating actively in the decision to create a permanently functioning "mechanism for political consultations" among the eight countries (of the Contadora and the "support group"), which would make it possible to search in an effective, coordinated manner for ways to resolve problems of mutual interest. This applies specifically to the question of coordinating positions for the upcoming March meeting to be held in Montevideo on GATT policy, at which, according to preliminary predictions, a sharp clash among the various participants is anticipated.

"The Rio de Janeiro Group," which is the name which the "mechanism of political consultations" of the Latin American "eight" has received, does not for now aim to speak for the entire region, although membership is not closed to other Latin American countries. This is explained by the desire of its participants not to arouse any sharp irritation or negative reaction from the USA, which does not intend to permit alternatives to the OAS in the Western hemisphere, as well as by the complexities of strengthening regional unity. One of them is the desire to survive the crisis period, to withstand the increased economic pressure from the imperialist powers by working out a united policy for behavior within the framework of a group consisting of only the largest countries of the region. An indication of the latter is the fact that the search for a collective mechanism for decision making has a unique nature, outlined by many specific and sometimes contradictory features. At the same time there are manifestations of some signs characteristic of the new political thinking, of the need for action and restraint in international affairs, and of the importance of the search for bold and nontraditional approaches to the resolution of the problems on which the fates of entire peoples and the peace on the planet depend.

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COURSE OF U.S.-COLOMBIA RELATIONS ANALYZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 87 pp 19-29

[Article by S.A. Baburkin (Yaroslavl): "The Evolution of Colombian-American Relations"]

[Text] Under the Standards of the "Crusade"

After declaring its strategic goal in Central America and the Caribbean to be the struggle against the "emergence of new Cuban-type states" and the "elimination of Cuban-Soviet influence," the Reagan administration made substantial efforts to involve other states on the continent in the implementation of its interventionist plans in this region. Colombia's geographical position made it one of the main objects of such efforts, while the traditional orientation of Colombian governments toward the "Northern star" [1], and in particular, the desire of the cabinet of Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala (1978-1982) to resolve its foreign policy problems on the basis of close cooperation with American imperialism, opened up broad opportunities for the United States to influence Colombia's foreign policy course.

All this resulted in close coordination between the USA and Colombia in their actions in the international arena in the early 80's. Naturally, Washington set the direction and tone of the joint efforts. The most important elements of the foreign policy of the Turbay Ayala government were support for the reactionary Salvadorean junta and interference by the United States in the internal affairs of El Salvador, the introduction of tension into relations with Nicaragua on the subject of a territorial dispute over the archipelago of San Andres and Providencia in the Caribbean, and opposition to Cuba and Nicaragua in the UN and OAS. The government of Turbay Ayala participated actively in an anti-Cuban campaign unleashed by Washington, which led to the deterioration and subsequently to the March 1981 break in diplomatic relations between Colombia and Cuba. It is typical that "evidence of Cuban interference in Colombia's internal affairs" [2] served as the grounds for this break--evidence which had been fabricated by the Pentagon and certain Colombian military circles.

It would be incorrect to assume that an increase in the reactionary tendencies in Colombia's foreign policy took place automatically, without any effort on the part of the United States. The American administration actively

influenced this process through diplomatic, commercial-economic and military channels. For example, Thomas Enders, who at that time was U.S. assistant secretary for international affairs, in the course of his June 1981 visit to Colombia more than once stated demagogically in conversations with Colombia leaders that after Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, Colombia was the next object of "Cuban aggression" in the Caribbean. Pointing to a mythical communist threat, he emphasized that in the struggle against it, Colombia must give the USA all the help it could and expressed satisfaction with the fact that the Colombian government had provided a "powerful rebuff to the Cuban interference." [3]

In support of the Turbay Ayala government's "resolve" to continue to actively oppose the "communist onslaught," there were promises and subsequently Washington granted diplomatic support to Colombia in its territorial dispute with Nicaragua over the islands of Roncador, Quitasueno and Serrano in the Caribbean. The July 1981 ratification by the U.S. Senate of the American-Colombian treaty (signed as long ago as 1972) concerning the renunciation by the United States of claims to these territories and the extension of Colombian sovereignty to them was obviously provocative in nature. [4]

U.S. military policy exerts particular influence over Colombia's foreign policy course. One of the most important aspects of this policy is the training of Colombian servicemen, who, like their colleagues from other Latin American countries, are subjected to massive, ideological indoctrination in an anti-communist, pro-American spirit. In the 1950-1979 period, 7,907 Colombian servicemen received training within the framework of American military aid programs. Typically, particular emphasis is put upon the training of specialists for the anti-guerrilla struggle and the maintenance of "internal security." [5]

In a document by the planning group of the United States National Security Council entitled "U.S. Policy with Regard to Central America and Cuba in the Period up to and including the 1984 Fiscal Year," the "strengthening of the military potential of democratic states in order to hinder subversive activity by leftist extremists" was given priority over other measures to realize Washington's strategy in this region. [6] The fact that in the 1982 plan for United States military assistance to the Latin American countries, only El Salvador received more money (\$13.5 million) provides an idea of the kind of attention which has been devoted to Colombia. [7]

Rethinking of Values

Washington's harsh policy in Central America and its unconditional support for the Turbay Ayala government not only aroused the sharp condemnation and decisive opposition of the progressive democratic forces of Colombia but also gave rise to concern among certain circles of the ruling classes. The approval of Reagan's "Caribbean initiative," which was put forward without consultation with the Colombian government (although it directly concerned Colombia--the repeal stipulated by the American administration of tariff duties on raw material imports from the Caribbean countries worsened conditions for Colombian exports to the USA), showed that the Turbay Ayala government is prepared to sacrifice the commercial and economic interests of

its own country in order to benefit the senior partner. This kind of position by the government contributed to the increasing dissatisfaction in the nationalistically inclined circles of the Colombian bourgeoisie.

These sentiments reached their high point during the Malvinas crisis. At this time the lack of independence in Colombia's position was revealed in full measure: Colombia followed the United States in abstaining during the OAS vote on a resolution which called for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, with consideration for Argentina's rights to the islands, and which was approved by 17 (out of 21) states. In Latin America this was correctly judged to be a betrayal of the general cause and interest of the region's peoples.

The conflict in the South Atlantic showed with complete clarity that the policy of unconditional support for any step taken by Washington, while bringing a short-term advantage, in the broad international context and long-term perspective does harm to the national interests of Colombia and leads to the decline of its prestige in the world arena and to its isolation. A newspaper of the Colombian conservative party stated this directly: "Colombia did not have a consistent and realistic policy of its own and for this reason it was passive in the sphere of North American influence; this did not provide the country any material or diplomatic advantages, but instead required it to support an alien policy, which not always coincide with our national interests." [8]

The injured commercial-economic interests and the feeling of wounded national dignity prompted a segment of the country's ruling classes to a unique re-examination of values and forced them to step up the search for an alternative to a course which had compromised itself and shown a complete lack of promise. These processes were clearly manifested in the 1982 presidential election campaign. When evaluating the prospects for changes in Colombia's foreign policy, observers linked them mainly with the candidate from the then-ruling liberal party, Alfonso Lopez Mickelson, whose statement concerning his intention to work to have his own party included in the Socialist International was viewed as a desire to re-examine Colombia's relations with the USA. At the same time opportunities for Belisario Betancur, the candidate from the conservative party who won the election, to introduce substantial changes in the country's foreign policy course were judged to be not great. In an interview with a Colombian magazine, the Austrian Latin-American specialist and researcher into Colombian foreign policy Gerhard Dreconcha, said: "The new government will continue the present government's policy based on a well-known model, the essence of which is being a good friend to the United States. And this close link will be utilized to strengthen the position with regard to Nicaragua and Venezuela..."[9]

In August 1982 there were still grounds for such a prediction, which subsequent events showed to be deeply mistaken. The leading trends in Colombia's foreign policy of previous years also spoke in favor of it, as did the government's platform of activities worked out on the eve of the elections by the conservative party. While in fact copying the "Santa Fe document," the party directed Betancur to decisively support the anti-Cuban policy of the USA. However, Betancur was victorious at the polls less as a representative of his party than as an "all-national candidate," who was able to incorporate in

his own platform the demands of the broad strata of the population and to enlist the support of various political forces. His coming to power objectively signified a strengthening of the positions of the reformist circles of the national bourgeoisie and a certain squeezing out of the most reactionary pro-imperialist circles; this was clearly manifested in a change in the foreign policy course and, in particular, a change in relations with the United States.

Colombia Does Not Wish to Be a U.S. Satellite

In a number of public statements the new president of Colombia made critical comments about U.S. policy in Latin America. While defending the equal rights of the Latin American countries as sovereign members of the international community, Betancur rejected Washington's claims to the role of continental leader. He responded affirmatively to a question about whether Colombian-American relations would change and clearly defined the essence of these changes, after emphasizing that "Colombia does not wish to be a satellite of the United States." [10]

The question of whether Colombia would join the non-aligned movement then became one of the central questions of the domestic political struggle, for this step presumed a serious adjustment in its foreign policy orientation, especially in relations with the USA. Joining the ranks of the non-aligned states was grounded in the need to bring the country out of isolation and to give its foreign policy a dynamic and independent nature, thus restoring its dignity as a sovereign nation. The chosen course was based on the principles of "peripheral autonomy" and "equidistance from the superpowers." The realization of those principles in no way meant that Colombia was moving closer to the socialist countries, but undoubtedly it did presume--if one takes into account the nature of Colombian-American relations in the early 80's--a certain distance from the USA. For this reason the respective statements by Colombian leaders were able to dampen somewhat the concern of the conservatively-inclined circles within the country, but they could not mislead American diplomacy, which was trying to prevent Colombia from joining the non-aligned movement and was trying to keep it in the orbit of foreign policy dependence. The U.S. ambassador in Colombia, Thomas Boyat, openly expressed the dissatisfaction of the American administration with the plans of the Betancur government; in his public statements he tried to belittle the significance of the non-aligned movement, stating that it serves only to hinder the policy of the United States.

R. Reagan's visit to Bogota (in the course of a visit to the Latin American countries in December 1982) was in pursuit of the same goals. Anti-imperialist demonstrations greeted the President of the United States. The first impressions were supplemented by the cool reception from Belisario Betancur, who, according to the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE newspaper, gave his guest a serious lecture on Latin American politics. Specifically, the Colombian president stated that relations between the United States and the states of Latin America had deteriorated significantly since the Malvinas crisis, when the USA demonstrated its disregard for the interests of the countries in this region. He described as mistaken the attempts to exclude a "number of Latin American states from the inter-American system" and called

for a concentration of efforts to achieve a peace, "which could be ensured only by granting aid without any kind of discrimination, and not by pressure or isolation." [11]

Colombia officially joined the non-aligned movement as a member with full rights in March 1983 at the 7th Conference of Heads of State and Governments of the Non-Aligned Countries in Delhi. At the same time this act showed "only one facet of the general will of the government to impart to the state strength and autonomy in the conduct of international affairs." Other aspects of its foreign policy proved to be no less important. Colombia's line in international organizations changed. Its UN representatives condemned Israel's aggression in Lebanon and the mass murders of Palestinians in Beirut, and they criticized the USA for its support of England's colonial policy in the South Atlantic. Colombia voted to elect Nicaragua to the UN Security Council and came out in favor of re-organizing the OAS according to the principle of political and ideological pluralism.

Positive changes also took place in Colombia's policy in Central America and the Caribbean. Having stated that it did not agree with the aggressive, anti-Cuban line of the USA, the Betancur government took a "position of respect" with regard to Cuba; the concrete expression of that position was, in particular, a proposal concerning mediation to settle the question of Cuban specialists in occupied Grenada. The Colombian administration decisively opposed the United States intervention in Grenada, while the Colombian representative at the OAS compared this aggressive action to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. Colombia pointed out the illegality of the Grenadian occupation and demanded that the interventionists leave the island. In its efforts to improve relations with Nicaragua, the Betancur government granted it credit to acquire busses and fishing vessels built in Colombia. Statements by Colombian leaders about their intention to promote the peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America also received concrete confirmation. Colombia's active participation in the work of the "Contadora group," as well as individual initiatives such as the meeting which it organized between leaders from the U.S. administration and the Salvadorean guerrillas, were given high praise by the peace-loving forces.

Such foreign policy actions undoubtedly help to strengthen Colombia's sovereignty and to increase its role in international affairs, while at the same time undermining the usual stereotype of Colombian-American relations.

The Apologia of "Beneficial Dependence"

At the same time the supporters of the traditional orientation toward the "Northern star" never stopped trying to defend the "beneficial dependence on the United States," arguing that "Colombia is to a significant degree obligated" for economic development and even for its very existence "to its friend, neighbor and permanent ally." [12] Influential pro-American military groups exerted serious pressure on the Betancur government. Colombia's military and economic cooperation with the United States continued to expand. For the 1986 fiscal year the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Langhorne Motley asked Congress for \$20.9 million for military aid to Colombia (1.5-fold more than in 1982). [13]

At the direction of the United States special services the Colombian militarist circles provoked incidents in the spirit of the "struggle against communist penetration in Latin America," as was the case with the "Novogrudok," a Soviet ship which took a route from Colombia to Nicaragua, El Salvador, Mexico and the USA. In the Colombian port of Santa Marta a detachment of more than 90 servicemen and policemen under the command of an Army major burst onto the ship and citing an order from the high command, subjected it to a three-hour search "for the purpose of discovering military cargo." [14] The matter went as far as a confrontation between the highest military ranks and the president of the republic. In early 1984 General F. Landasabal Reyes, the minister of defense, in essence spoke out against the government's independent peace-loving foreign policy; he said that taking active measures for a peaceful settlement of the Central American situation and joining the non-aligned movement would prevent the country from receiving aid from the United States in case of "an attack by Nicaragua on Colombia for the purpose of seizing the islands" in the Caribbean Sea. [15]

The U.S. government actively supported all these sentiments and actions. While accusing (without proof!) Cuba and Nicaragua of connections with the Colombian mafia and guerrilla movement, the Reagan administration attempted to impede the improvement of relations between these countries and Colombia. Nor did Washington shrink from taking advantage (for speculative purposes) of the November 1985 seizure of the Supreme Court building in Bogota by Colombian guerrillas from the "19th of April Movement." Even before the official investigation was completed, the radiostation "Radio Cadena Nacional," citing a U.S. State Department representative, stated that the arms and ammunition used by the guerrillas in this action were supposedly given to them by the "Sandinist regime."

"For the Sake of Peace, Development and Democracy"

But the reactionary pro-imperialist circles of Colombia and representatives of the American administration met with a worthy rebuff. Evidence of this was to be seen in the retirement (in January 1984) of General F. Landasabal Reyes, the condemnation in an April 1984 official statement by Colombia's minister of foreign affairs on the provocative activities of the U.S. ambassador, the refutation of rumors concerning Nicaragua's participation in the tragic events in the Palace of Justice, and especially the continuation of the Betancur government's active peace-loving course in the international arena.

In the course of a trip through the Latin American countries in March 1985 the Colombian president met with many government leaders from the region, including all the presidents of the Central American countries and the member countries of the "Contadora group." It is no accident that in evaluating this peace marathon, A.S. Consalvi, Venezuela's minister of foreign affairs, stated: "When Doctor Betancur completes his trip through Central America and visits Washington, his voice will be the voice of Latin America. He will express our common viewpoint and our desire for peace, stability, democracy and freedom." [16] And, in fact, Betancur did speak in Washington in April 1985 as a representative of the entire continent. In appealing to the democratic traditions of the USA, the Colombian president called on the

American administration to "re-examine the parameters of mutual relations with Latin America," to shift to an "honest, constructive and fruitful cooperation," which "would make it possible to strengthen the political institutions of the Western hemisphere, would multiply the opportunities for peace and would open up prospects for development." [17] The "Alliance for Peace, Development and Democracy between the United States and Latin America," which he proposed was, in essence, a new version of the "Alliance for Progress," but one which was now being put forward by Latin America. However, Washington responded to this proposal with an escalation of aggression and an economic blockade against those who do not share its ideas about democracy.

In Colombia Belisario Betancur's visit aroused a wide-spread polemic and was received ambiguously. Those who supported an independent foreign policy for the country were disappointed with it; they saw it as evidence of Colombia's rejection of the non-alignment policy and as a "turn toward Washington," which, in the opinion of the country's former minister of foreign affairs, A. Vasquez Carrisosa, has been carried out since mid-1984, when financial and economic difficulties forced the Betancur government to turn to the International Monetary Fund for assistance. And in turn, adherents of the "Polar Star diplomacy" received the signs of Colombian-American rapprochement with enthusiasm. In their efforts to speed up the process, they emphasized that the president's actions merit approval "to the degree that greater rapprochement between the Reagan and Betancur governments is felt," and they expressed a wish "that the good star--the Polar star--of this visit continue to inspire him" to the end of his presidential term. [18]

Back, to the "Polar Star!"

The hopes which the adherents of "Polar star diplomacy" had for the restoration of previous relations with the United States were raised in August 1986, when the current president of Colombia, Vergilio Barco Vargas, came to power. Observers, including those in the USA, predicted that because of the traditional pro-American orientation of the liberal party and facts of his personal history (V. Barco studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Boston University and was Colombia's ambassador to Washington under president J.C. Turbay Ayala; he lived in the USA for a total of 17 years), he would be a "good ally of the United States." [19]

A series of foreign policy measures by Colombia's current leadership have justified these expectations. For example, at the 8th Conference of the Non-Aligned States in Harare (September 1986), Colombia's representative, Charri Samper, who called on the movement to promote "East-West detente," "North-South dialog" and "South-South alliance", at the same time opposed Managua as the site of the next meeting of heads of the non-aligned countries. According to the Colombian press, he rendered good service to the U.S. State Department and deserved the praise of United States Secretary of State G. Shultz. In this regard V.Barco's visit to the USA, which took place in late September and early October 1986, acquired particular significance. During the visit the Colombian president chaired the annual plenary session of the IMF and MBRR (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) and had a short conversation with R. Reagan. The moderate tone of V. Barco's speeches in the United States, and in particular the lack of criticism for Washington's

increasing interventionism in Central America, his calls for an increased role for the OAS in the Western hemisphere, as well as the acceptance of American aid amounting to \$290,000 to modernize the judicial system of Colombia (which the country's State Council had previously rejected as "encroachment on national sovereignty" [21]) not only prompted approving responses in the U.S. official press, which praised the "prudence" of Colombia's new president, but also served as the basis for A. Vasquez Carrisosa's statement that "in general Barco's mission signified a return to the policy of rapprochement with the United States, a policy which we have named "Respice Polum," or "Polar Star." [22]

However, a number of foreign policy actions do not fit in the scheme of "Polar star diplomacy." Frequent statements about the country's adherence to the non-aligned movement and the Contadora process; contacts with Cuban representatives for the purpose of restoring diplomatic relations and resolving the question of Cuba's membership in the OAS; rejection of the U.S. proposal to establish radar on Providencia Island; the unambiguously negative position on the possibility of sending American troops to Colombia to give assistance in the struggle against the narcotics business (as was the case in Bolivia); criticism of Washington for enormous military expenditures which "would be better used to relieve the sufferings of humanity, speeding up its development and progress;" [23] recognition of the correctness of Argentina's position with regard to the Malvinas Islands--all this provides evidence that along with Bogota's general willingness "to maintain sincere and cordial relations" with the United States, these relations, as some observers predict, "will not be characterized by frank declarations of love, as was the case under Turbay Ayala, nor by declarations of restlessness, as was the case under Betancur." [24] But according to some judgments, the V. Barco government is leaning more and more toward a re-examination of the possibilities for a political settlement of the Central American crisis outside the framework of the Contadora process. The resolution of this crisis, in the opinion of the new Colombian administration, must be entrusted to a more representative and competent organ. The OAS was considered by the Colombian side as such an organ. This kind of approach, it is true, resulted from the need to increase the number of OAS participants (we are talking about membership for Canada, Cuba and a number of Caribbean countries), but in fact it signified a serious concession to the USA, which put forth considerable effort to disrupt the Contadora process and is producing new ideas aimed at undermining the unity of the Latin American states. The expansion of the OAS is an urgent task, but it is not directly related to the resolution of the Central American crisis, which is intensifying because of the Reagan administration, contrary to the will of the Latin American countries. After the new "mechanism for political consultations" was established in December 1986 in Rio de Janeiro on the basis of the Contadora group and the "support group," Colombia's position changed somewhat; this provides evidence that the new cabinet continues to adhere to a course of quietly distancing itself from the USA.

FOOTNOTES

1. Over the course of the 19th century relations between Colombia and the USA developed along an ascending curve. However, in the early 20th century they deteriorated sharply as a result of support by the United States, which was trying to achieve control over the zone of the future inter-ocean canal, of the division of Panama province from Colombia. A reconciliation between Bogota and Washington was achieved only in 1914, when the "Urrutia-Thompson Treaty" was signed, which called for compensation to be paid to Colombia in the amount of \$25 million, and for that country to be granted privileges in the use of the Panama Canal. Since the 20's there has been a policy of "unconditional loyalty" by Colombia to the United States, a policy which was grounded in the "Suarez doctrine." Suarez was Colombia's president in 1918-1921, who considered that in view of the growing imperial might of the USA it was good to maintain close relations with it, being guided by the principle of "Respite Polum" on the "North Star." This tradition became firmly established in the Second World War and the subsequent "Cold War."

2. EL ESPECTADOR. Bogota. 22 March 1981; VOZ PROLETARIA. Bogota, 26 March 1981.

3. EL TIEMPO. Bogota, 9 June 1981.

4. For more detail see LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 9, 1982, pp 13-17; "Kolombiya; tendentsii ekonomicheskogo i sotsialno-politicheskogo razvitiya" [Colombia: Economic and Socio-political Development Trends]. Moscow, 1986, p 235.

5. M. T. Klare, C. Arnson. "Supplying Repression. US Support of Authoritarian Regimes Abroad." Washington, 1981, pp 48, 51.

6. ESTUDIOS. S. 1, No 87, 1983, p 43.

7. LATIN AMERICA. WEEKLY REPORT. London, No 14, 1981, p 5.

8. EL SIGLO. Bogota. 16 October 1982.

9. SEMANA. Bogota, No 15, 1982, p 44.

10. Cronica de Gobierno. Belisario Betancur, Vol 1, Agosto-Noviembre 1982. Bogota, pp 150-156.

11. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. Paris, 4-5 December 1982.

12. EL TIEMPO, 24 April 1983.

13. EL ESPECTADOR, 10 April 1985.

14. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 10 September 1983.

15. LA"IN AMERICA. WEEKLY REPORT. No 5, 1984, p 5.
16. EL ESPECTADOR. 1 April 1985.
17. EL ESPECTADOR, 6 APRIL 1985.
18. Visita del presidente de la Republica de Colombia Belisario Betancur a los Estados Unidos: abril, 1985. S. 1., s.a., pp 370, 372.
19. EL ESPECTADOR. 6 August 1986.
20. EL ESPECTADOR, 4 October 1986.
21. EL ESPECTADOR, 17 September; 19 September 1986.
22. EL ESPECTADOR, 4 October 1986.
23. EL ESPECTADOR, 2 October 1986.
24. EL ESPECTADOR, 27 September 1986.

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BOOK ON MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 87 pp 131-133

[Review by V.D. Shchetinin of book "Mezhdunarodnyye monopolii v Latinskoy Amerike" [The International Monopolies in Latin America]. V.V. Volskiy, Editor-in-Chief, Moscow, "Nauka", 1986, 300 pages]

[Text] Latin America provides a striking example of what the activities of the multinational corporations can lead to. Never before has the economic position of the region been so catastrophically difficult and precarious due precisely to the uncontrolled actions of foreign capital. The low level of business activity, the worsening of current payment balances, high inflation rates and the exacerbation of social problems--such are the fruits of MNC expansion into the continent's countries.

The author's collective of the ILA (Institute of Latin America) of the AN SSSR (USSR Academy of Sciences) uses a large amount of factual material to deal with very important consequences of the activities of the international monopolies in Latin America and to provide an analysis of the scale of economic penetration by the MNC's and their neocolonialist strategy. The book reveals the evolution of the forms and methods used by the monopolies to exploit the Latin American countries as a manifestation, first of all, of the neoglobalist claims of U.S. monopolistic capital. The work represents a new step in the study of the specific features and characteristics of the development of capitalism and the problems of the struggle of the region's countries for the consolidation of political independence and economic liberation.

As is well known, Latin America occupies a fundamental place in the total volume of direct private investment made by the industrially developed countries in the developing world. The calculations cited by the authors convincingly confirm this (p 15).

In the early 80's the region's share of direct investment by the USA in the developing countries amounted to more than 62 percent; this indicator was also particularly high for the FRG (66 percent), Switzerland (74 percent) and Canada (75 percent). It was lower for other capitalist powers but at the same time their monopolies were closing in on the corporations of the above mentioned "four." Japan, for example, doubled its direct investment in Latin

America in less than five years. French capital gained ascendancy in the production of cement and glass; English and French capital moved up in textiles, etc.

However, the positions of the MNC's should naturally be evaluated not so much from the viewpoint of inter-imperialist competition as with regard to their influence on the Latin American economy. Calculations show that as a result of the expansion of the MNC's no less than 40 percent of the region's production of industrial output has proved to be in the grip of foreign capital; moreover, in the chemical, automotive and electrical appliance-industries, as well as and in the general machine-building sectors the figure ranges from 80 to 100 percent (p 19).

In justifying their expansion the MNC's try to defend the idea of a certain "community" of interests shared by the industrially developed and developing countries. However, this idea, as the book shows convincingly, does not stand the test in Latin America. The industrial strategy of the international monopolies is oriented primarily toward the more developed states of the region--Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia, and this in practice serves to set some countries against others. The lack of a "community" of interests becomes increasingly obvious if one takes account of the ever-growing foreign indebtedness of the developing countries.

There is evidence of this in the persistent gap noted in the book between the amount of profit taken out of the country (in legal and hidden forms) and the new influx of foreign entrepreneurial capital (p 116). This is a net deduction from the funds essential for the development of the Latin American states, and it is directly linked with the higher profitability of the local branches of the MNC's. The wages of the Brazilian workers at the "Volkswagen do Brazil" Company, for example, are on average one-tenth to one-fifteenth of what workers earn at Volkswagen enterprises in the FRG.

The methods by which the MNC's extract income from the the Latin American countries encompass not only the production sphere. The financial, technological and commercial superiority of the MNC's make it possible for them to assess tribute from all classes of Latin American society, including that stratum of the local upper bourgeoisie linked to the MNC's (p 118 and others). It is no accident that the foreign monopolies are conducting an active struggle against any increase in the role of the state sector in the management of the economy (p 170).

The authors note correctly that in the plans and practice of the MNC's substantial hopes are linked to the integration processes taking place in Latin America; but at the same time their progressive basis is being emasculated, and attempts are being carried out to make the actual integration only a version of the intensification of inter-monopolistic relations.

The book shows convincingly the serious consequences which follow from the activities of foreign capital. The realization of the socio-economic development model which it introduced has become possible due to the tractability of the corresponding portion of the local bourgeoisie; this model

imposes incalculable burdens on the peoples of the region. The "surplus" manpower already amounts to about 30 million people--23 percent of the economically active population (p 20) and even more in some countries. Despite the claims about new production units to be developed with the help of the MNC's, more than 60 percent of their branches in Latin America are formed by swallowing up existing enterprises rather than creating new ones. This practice not only does not lead to an increase in the number of jobs, but it also dooms to unemployment many who previously had work (p 211). One idea which is completely unconvincing comes from some foreign experts who talk about the possibility of creating a certain balance in this MNC practice by the introduction of labor-intensive technology. The chances for success with such recipes are no greater than they were during the time of the Luddites. Latin American reality sometimes acquaints us with factors which could be put in the same category as the examples of monstrous exploitation written about by K. Marx in connection with his analysis of the period of original capital accumulation.

One can understand completely why the desire to limit the uncontrolled operations of the MNC's is growing among the broad strata of the population in Latin America. Many representatives of progressive public opinion see their activities as a way of drawing the Latin American countries into the military-industrial network of foreign monopolies and of bringing them closer to the U.S. military-industrial complex. For this reason they decisively oppose the methods by which the MNC's acquire profits; these include applying crude pressure, trampling on national sovereignty, interfering in internal affairs and ignoring the legal rights and demands of the Latin American peoples.

It would seem that the book's description of the course of this struggle and the search for compromises which the Latin America states are conducting in the international arena with regard to the "MNC problem" could have been more systematic in nature. The significance of this question is all the greater because many influential circles in the developing countries of other regions are beginning to lean with increasing frequency toward the Latin American model for the international settlement of problems concerning relations with the MNC's.

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IMPORTANCE OF USSR-LATIN AMERICA BOOK EXCHANGE NOTED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 87 pp 125-127

[Article by G. G. Yershova: "Book Exchanges: the Way to Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] The book trade is one aspect of the expanding cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Latin American countries. The All-Union Copyright Agency (AUC) has an important role in the complex matter of book exchanges. In the 13 years of its existence the AUC has done a great deal to expand ties with the Latin American publishing houses and commercial booksellers. Under constant study are the problems and features of the region's book market are constantly being features which largely determine the nature of the mutual relations which are being developed. According to specialists, about 80 million Latin Americans (including people who can read and write) do not have access to books, which continue to be the privilege of the highest strata of society due to cost and a number of other factors. In Mexico, for example only 6 percent of the population regularly buys books.

Excluding Cuba, three countries--Brazil, Mexico and Argentina--account for 75 percent of all the books produced in Latin America. And those same three countries publishe most of the translated literature, which accounts for quite a high proportion of total output--up to 30 percent in Brazil, up to 25 percent in Argentina and up to 15 percent in Mexico. Further, about 80 percent of the works which are translated are by U.S. authors. Nor can Spain's role in the complex process of the book trade be underestimated. The common language, as well as traditional economic and cultural ties, ensure that 70 percent of the books produced by Spanish publishers are disseminated in Latin America. It is also important that in the area of the book publishing Spain in one of the leading countries, occupying a solid fifth place in the capitalist world and third in Western Europe. Two significant features of Spanish book publishing should be emphasized: it has a significant proportion of translated literature (about 30 percent) and a traditionally high level of exports (up to 50 percent of output is sold abroad). About half of the firms are oriented in significant measure to exports; moreover, in certain cases the proportion of output being exported reaches 70 percent. In the Spanish-speaking countries the book-selling companies also have a broad network of branches, which frequently have economic opportunities as great as those of the head enterprises.

In recent years there has been a trend toward independent development in Latin American publishing. There is evidence of this in the 1971 establishment of the Regional Center for the Development of Book Publishing and Distribution in Latin America (CERLAL). This organization was formed on the basis of an agreement between UNESCO and the government of Colombia. The International Book Year held in 1972 was an important phenomenon in the region's cultural life. The very next year Colombia and Argentina adopted "book laws" which emphasized the role of the book as a source of knowledge for the broad strata of the population.

The government of Mexico devotes particularly great attention to the development of book publishing: Mexico has a special Institute of Law, which defends authors' interests. In 1975 a committee was established there on the development of the book publishing industry and the book trade; its mission is to work out a national policy in the area of book publishing. The government of Brazil has worked out a "National Program in the Area of Books", the aim of which is to coordinate the various aspects of the activities of the National Book Institute concerned with developing book publishing, expanding the network of libraries, etc. Some trends toward the development of book publishing activities have also manifested themselves in Venezuela.

In December 1984 a regional conference on the book trade in the Latin American and Caribbean countries was held in Santo Domingo at the initiative of UNESCO. The reason for holding it was the enormous desire to study thoroughly the basic problems of a legislative, economic, administrative and financial nature, which hinder the free exchange of books in the region. However, there are a number of countries whose government do not devote attention to the question of book publishing and the export of book production. They include first of all Chile and Panama. And book production in Peru and Costa Rica is constantly falling. The current situation in the Latin American book market forces the AUCA to orient itself primarily to cooperation with countries in which the publishing is developed at a high level--Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Colombia. It is in these places that there exists a real basis for the development of the most fruitful contacts.

It is essential to note that in Latin America the policy carried out by the government exerts a great influence on book publishing in any given country. For example, in Mexico a portion of the shares of the major publishing companies were acquired by the state, which exerted a positive influence on the development of mutual cooperation. In 1982-1984 Mexican publishing houses signed 37 contracts for the publication of works by Soviet authors.

After the government of Raul Alfonsin came to power in Argentina the process of democratic transformations brought with it the liberalization of the press. The government stated its resolve to regain for Argentina its lost position as one of the leading centers of book publishing. At the present time the AUCU supports working contacts with the ten Argentine firms, including the publishing houses "Anteo," "Cartago," "Directa," "Cetsal," "Stadium" and others. A favorable situation is developing at the present time with regard to Brazilian book publishers. The market of the region's largest country is quite dynamic. Interest in Soviet literature is growing constantly,

especially interest in socio-economic literature, a shortage of which has been felt over a relatively long period.

An important factor in cooperation is the development of relations between the AUCU and the publishing organizations of Cuba, which have exceptional significance for the cultural life of both countries. On 30 May 1985 an inter-governmental agreement was signed concerning the mutual protection of authors' rights, as was an agreement between the National Copyright Center of Cuba (CENDA) and the AUCU. CENDA has established a so-called "bank of translations of Soviet literature" in order to partially resolve the problem of translating Soviet publications into Spanish. In this way Cuba is becoming an important intermediary in relations with book publishing organizations in other Latin American countries.

In this connection I would like to mention as well the activities of the Latin American Literary Agency (ALA); cooperation with this agency will significantly facilitate the emergence of Soviet literature onto the Latin American book market. ALA is establishing ties with progressive authors from the various countries of the region who do not have opportunities to be published independently and acquiring from them the rights to publish their works.

The Moscow International Book Fair (MIBF), which is held regularly, plays a large role in the development of book exchanges. At MIBF-5, which took place in 1985, contacts were established with representatives of many publishing firms and book selling organizations in a number of Latin American countries. The work of MIBF-5 confirmed the trend toward expanded cooperation in the area of book exchanges between the USSR and the Latin American countries.

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VENEZUELAN POLITICAL FIGURE JOSE RANGEL INTERVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 87 pp 50-54

[Interview with Jose Vincente Rangel by LATINSKAYA AMERIKA editorial board, date not specified; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Jose Vicente Rangel, the well-known Venezuelan political figure who ran for president three times, visited our country at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America.

[Question] The drop in oil prices on the world market had serious consequences for the oil-producing states. What can be said about Venezuela in this regard?

[Answer] At the present time Venezuela is going through an extremely difficult period. While the price of a barrel of oil previously reached \$36, it has now fallen to \$10. The state's annual income, which previously amounted to about \$18 billion, now equals about \$8 billion, because the funds which are received from other export items, cannot compensate for the losses from the drop in world oil prices. Naturally this situation leads not only to financial-economic consequences but also to serious socio-political consequences, to even greater growth in unemployment, to a reduction of expenditures for social needs and to an acceleration of the "flight of capital" abroad.

Since 1982, when the government of Luis Herrera Campinsa devalued the bolivar, about \$40 billion have left the country, according to the calculations of certain specialists; this is an amount which is approximately equal to Venezuela's foreign debt! This phenomenon, which is extremely negative for the national economy, is explained to no small degree by the crisis of confidence in the government. Today at Caracas exchange points a dollar is worth more than 200 bolivars (in comparison with 4.3 bolivars before devaluation). As a result of the lack of a well-thought out economic policy, the state not only has no new financial earnings, but it is also "eating up" that reserve of funds which was obtained during the 70's, during the "oil boom" period.

This situation exacerbates the problem of foreign indebtedness, which arose during the years when Venezuela received a high income from oil exports. I think that the responsibility for the debt burden lies not only with the

bankers who granted the loans but also with the governments of our country, which irresponsibly resorted to external sources of financing. It is essential to state this with all determination because in their analyses of the problem some observers linked with the ruling circles are silent about facts which testify to their involvement in the growth of the foreign debt.

[Question] The administration of the ruling Democratic Action (AD) party, promised, before the elections, to pay the foreign debt...

[Answer] This promise was made to gain the trust of foreign creditors, to renew the flow of capital investment. However, the problem was not resolved in this way. In order to gain trust and support within the country, President Lusinchi stated at the same time the need to re-examine conditions of foreign debt repayment. However, in the past three years he has not been successful in this.

It should be noted that one of the first steps of the Lusinchi administration was acknowledgement by the government of responsibility for the foreign debt of the private sector. In order to repay it businessmen were granted the right to exchange bolivars at a favorable rate, which in essence meant appropriating to them funds from the state budget. This aroused a storm of indignation from the overwhelming majority of the population. In Venezuela this government decision is called the "deal of the century." And it was made at a time when the state incomes from oil exports have been falling sharply and it has been finding it increasingly difficult to carry out an independent economic policy. It is not surprising that the ruling party, and more specifically that part of it which is in power, is finding it increasingly difficult to count on the support of the masses.

[Question] In a recently published work, you wrote that Venezuela is developing along a path of "oil capitalism." [1]

[Answer] For more than half a century Venezuela's development was financed through the growth in income from oil exports; the income was distributed through various channels to meet the needs of private entrepreneurs. If one follows the dynamics of capital investment in the industry, it becomes obvious that the level of profitability of Venezuelan enterprises is substantially lower than it is in the overwhelming majority of other countries of the world. This kind of situation is possible only because the rent obtained by businessmen at the expense of state income from oil exports comprises a significant proportion of the total volume of profit. Thus, the development of the economy is determined not so much by the need to improve its own production, which must be oriented toward its intensification and improvement of output quality, as by the opportunity for access to petroleum wealth.

From this arises the deformation of the economic structure and the differentiation of "oil capitalism" from other types of capitalist development. The paradox of this model is determined by two basic parameters: on the one hand, by the presence of high income, which cannot be effectively utilized, and on the other, by increasing growth in the foreign debt and subordination to the multinational financial centers.

[Question] Following nationalization of the petroleum industry, Venezuela's state sector picked up sharply, and the government received practically unlimited opportunities to develop an economic course which would meet the genuine needs of national development. Why did this not take place? Does it mean--as the adherents of the neomonetarist concepts, for example, think it does--that the state is incapable of carrying out an effective economic policy?

[Answer] This question is more political than economic in nature because it touches first of all on the interests of the ruling parties, which are responsible for the development of economic policy. Within the framework of the "oil capitalism" model, the state concentrates its efforts first on the support of state sector enterprises, nearly all of which prove to be unprofitable because they serve as one of the mechanisms for redistributing state funds into the hands of private businessmen, and second on increasing employment at these enterprises in order not so much to resolve economic problems as to ensure themselves the social support of the masses.

Thus the poor efficiency of Venezuelan state activities results from the fact that most of the income which it receives goes to maintain the viability of the parasitical private-capitalist sector, which--under conditions of dependence--is not in a position to ensure its own development.

[Question] Maybe the policy of the "status" parties which have replaced each other in power since 1958--the AD and the Social Christian party COPEI (Committee of Independent Political Electoral Organization)--have exhausted that national-reformist potential which ensured them the support of the population after the overthrow of the Perez Jimenez dictatorship?

[Answer] Yes, the positions of the "status" parties are becoming less and less firm. There is evidence of this in the lack of realistic plans for social development, the mood of dissatisfaction among the popular masses, and the intensification of internal contradictions within the AD and COPEI. The crisis of the ruling parties finds reflection in the distortion and deformation of the role and significance of the fundamental state institutions which carry out the prerogatives of power.

The crisis which is eating away at Venezuela's ruling parties is a crisis of the representative system of rule. The party micro-world takes the place of the macro-world of society. The ruling parties have reduced Venezuelan democracy to the simple participation of the people in elections. Their leaders are not troubled with the essential needs of the popular masses. They have become a kind of barrier, a wall between the population and the institutions of power. And the main point is that the leadership of these parties is not in a position to judge responsibly, seriously and self-critically the situation which has developed.

From this arises the increasing disappointment felt by the broad strata of the population with the existing model of development. For this reason the social costs of the system created in 1958 are extremely great. It is sufficient to cite data from almost any public opinion poll in order to be

convinced of the people's disappointment with the policy of the ruling parties: 60-70 percent of those polled reject any party activity. However, in essence this kind of rejection is profoundly democratic because it is the activities of the given, concrete parties which are being rejected. A majority of Venezuelans acknowledge a democratic regime with a party system as the only kind of regime acceptable to Venezuela, correctly assuming that the parties must stimulate citizen participation in the political process, and not block them off from this participation.

[Question] Do you think that the dissatisfaction of the broad strata of the population with the current policy of the ruling parties may lead to changes in the form of rule existing in the country?

[Answer] According to one view the crisis of representative democracy may lead to the establishment of an authoritarian regime. I do not share this position, because I assume that in Venezuela the problem does not lie in a change in the form of rule but in the genuine democratization of the already existing system. In other words, I favor the creation of conditions for more active and broader inclusion of the population in the process of decision making. However, the political institutions currently in operation cannot cope with this task, while the growing socio-economic crisis and the growth of the foreign debt only intensify the situation which has been created.

[Question] But why, in that case, has the "system of swings" or the "law of the pendulum" at the polls invariably worked over the last two decades, a system under which the two parties alternate in power and neither of them is in a position to resolve the essential problems of the people?

[Answer] Dissatisfied with the result of one-party rule, the electors give their vote to the candidate from the other major opposition party. Because there are no real contenders for victory aside from the AD and COPEI, they alternate in power.

[Question] What is your prediction for the 1988 elections?

[Answer] I think that once again one of the candidates from the "status" parties will come to power because, unfortunately, the disagreements among representatives of the leftist forces have not been overcome, which makes it impossible for them to become a real rival of the "status" parties.

[Question] Will you become a presidential candidate for the fourth time?

[Answer] No. I have already stated this and, moreover, I have stated that if the leftist forces again put forward several candidates, they risk disappearing altogether from the political scene because they risk not having the necessary number of votes to overcome the so-called registration barrier. At present unification offers the only possibility not only for opposing the ruling parties but also for continuing the struggle. And if this kind of tendency becomes a reality, I am prepared to support it with all my strength and to work for its implementation.

[Question] In conclusion, I would like to learn your opinion on a problem which is equally important to all the peoples on the earth--the struggle for peace.

[Answer] The struggle for peace, the struggle against the arms race poses in a new way a number of questions which are particularly timely for our region. First among them is the question of the relationship between foreign indebtedness and the needs of the U.S. military-industrial complex. The Latin Americans increasingly understand that by paying the interest on the loans, the governments of our countries are indirectly financing the arms race. It must not be forgotten that a distorted idea of this problem has been formed under the influence of the mass propaganda media. And those who come out in defense of peace have been considered virtually "agents of Moscow."

However, in recent years the situation has begun to change noticeably thanks to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, which have been embodied in concrete matters. Many Latin Americans are sincerely delighted at the persistence, purposefulness and consistency of M.S. Gorbachev in the struggle to curtail the arms race. At the same time profound indignation is growing at the arrogant position of R. Reagan, who does not want to take into consideration either the peace proposals of the Soviet Union or the interests of all humanity, over whom the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe hangs because of the U.S. military-industrial complex.

FOOTNOTE

1. J.V. Rangel. "Las elecciones del 4 de diciembre de 1984: lo formal dentro de un proceso agotado." 1984: "A donde va Venezuela?" Caracas, 1984, pp 553-570.

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ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSES TRENDS IN LATIN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 87 pp 134-136

[Article by Z.A. Zaritovskaya: "First Meeting of Philosophers Specializing in Latin American Affairs"]

[Text] In September 1986 an All-Union conference entitled "Worldview and Methodological Problems of the History of Philosophy" was held in Moscow; it was organized by the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences (IP AS). Within the framework of this conference a "roundtable" devoted to the methodology of research into the development of philosophy in the Latin American countries was held under the chairmanship of Professor A.V. Shestopal (ION) [possibly Institute of Social Science], doctor of philosophical sciences.

A.V. Shestopal opened the meeting with remarks on "Social Philosophy in the Latin American Countries: Cycles, Tendencies, Prospects"; he noted that research into the present-day ideological-theoretical situation in the region makes it possible to conclude that by the late 70's and early 80's a definite cycle in the development of bourgeois and petty bourgeois philosophy had come to an end. After calling it an "industrialist cycle," the speaker emphasized that this description is linked with the rise and fall of the role of the local industrial private-enterprise bourgeoisie. During the same period a new cycle began to be formed--a "post-industrialist," "scientistic" one, the formation of which resulted from a specific reflection of reality in the consciousness of the bourgeois-technocratic groups which arose as a result of the start of scientific-technical modernization in a number of the continent's states.

In the main report R. Burgete (IF AS), candidate of philosophical sciences, emphasized the importance of addressing the historical determination of the emergence of any given philosophical ideas. For the Latin American countries this problem has particular significance inasmuch as the colonization of the continent left a unique imprint on the mutual relations in the area of the superstructure, having defined the specific features of the development of Latin American philosophical thought. The influence of elements from ancient cultures by no means comes last in that thought. R. Burgete dwelt on that type of philosophical thought which the Cuban philosopher J.A. Caballero called "selective philosophy." By this definition is understood the methodological way in which the transition from the philosophy of scholasticism to the

philosophy of the new era was carried out. The philosophical systems which arose as a result of this method are, in essence, a reflection of dependence and they are the first national philosophies in the region.

The participants in the discussion emphasized that at the present time Latin American philosophy is of interest to researchers not only with regard to its internal development but also from the viewpoint of its contribution to the formation of contemporary philosophical thought. While supplementing European philosophy with the values of its own culture, Latin American philosophy interprets certain ideas of European philosophy in its own way, forcing it to "look" at itself from a different angle. This was the subject of a report presented by A.B. Zybкова (IF AS), candidate of philosophical sciences.

In his presentation Professor A.F. Shulgovskiy (MGIMO MID SSR [Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs]), doctor of historical sciences, discussed the need to work out scientifically grounded criteria for the creation of a Marxist conception which would help to reveal the uniqueness and original features of Latin American philosophy. The question of the relation between the general and the particular in the history of Latin American philosophy and social thought requires a comparison with similar stages in the development of philosophy in other regions of the world, especially in Western Europe and Russia. This kind of approach will make it possible to discover more fully the relation between the general and the particular within the framework of universal tendencies in the Latin American Enlightenment, romanticism and positivism and to understand the characteristics of the struggle between materialism and idealism in the philosophical thought of this region of the world.

The very reality of Latin America dictates the need to search for new, nonstandard methodological approaches--free of Eurocentrism--which would be in keeping with the nature of the historical, social and spiritual processes on the continent, noted V.B. Zemskov (IMLI [Institute of World Literature imeni A.M. Gorkiy]), doctor of philosophical sciences. In this sense a very important question concerns the specific features of the subject of the spiritual-cultural process, and consequently of philosophy, literature, etc. Thus, for example, at one time the philosophical teaching of L. Sea was defined in Soviet Latin-American studies only as bourgeois, although today it is obvious that this interpretation distorts the nature of the teaching and impoverishes the panorama of progressive currents in the social thought of our time.

In his presentation G.G.Krombet (ION), candidate of philosophical sciences, talked in his about the special significance of the principle of historicism in the analysis of the interaction between the universal and the specifically national in the study of the philosophical processes taking place in Latin America. Of particular interest in this regard is the question of the relation between the philosophy of the "Latin American essence," which is a unique interpretation of national self awareness, and Marxist philosophy.

T.V. Goncharova (ILA AS USSR), candidate of historical sciences, prompted a lively discussion with a paper in which she expressed the opinion that the historical-philosophical constructions of many Latin American thinkers are

more and more acquiring "globalist" outlines and losing specifically national features in the process. The philosophical problems related to the ideas of the "coming civilization," of a future collectivist society on a global scale are moving to the forefront. As examples of this approach T.V. Goncharova cited the concepts of L. Diaz Muller, M. Kaplan, M. Arrieta and others. In the attempts to create a new philosophical conception one can observe a slow, contradictory but noticeable movement toward the key problems common to all mankind, a growing trend toward universalization, and the overcoming of "self delusion," of a special path of development.

The attention of the "round table" participants was directed to the world view foundations of the religious-philosophical currents which occupy an important place in the continent's spiritual life. V.M. Pasika (ION), candidate of philosophical sciences, claimed that in current Latin American religious-philosophical thought the determining factor is not the search for the original and the particular; rather it is subject matter which concerns all humanity. In arguing this proposition V.M. Pasika focussed attention on "liberation theology" in Latin America, whose adherents turn to an analysis of social conditions of liberation, while emphasizing the fact that these conditions have a common nature for human history in general.

In his presentation E.V. Demenchonok (IP AS USSR), candidate of philosophical sciences, noted that "Latin American philosophy" represents a phenomenon typical of the "third world." Within the framework of this phenomenon, which is related to the awakening of national self-consciousness, and to the struggle against the neocolonialist yoke, there are grounds for isolating its specifically Latin American component. The philosophy and theology of "Latin American liberation" arose as a means of interpreting the problems of a concrete society and of searching for ways to develop it. The claim to historical-cultural originality (the departure point of "Latin American philosophy") does not conflict with the current globalist movement for the "coming civilization"; they are dialectically inter-related and come together in a demand for social renewal.

The dialectical inter-relationship between the general and the particular in Latin American philosophy was also the subject of a presentation by N.I. Petyaksheva (Philosophy Department, MAI [not further identified]), candidate of philosophical sciences. Latin American philosophy in its specifically national form is an expression and reflection of the objective content of the epoch. Latin American philosophers are aware of this dialectic and try to make it accommodate two functions, two trends--the assertion of the universal nature of philosophy and the realization of their own regional problems.

In his paper V.G. Aladin (University of the Friendship of Peoples imeni Patrice Lumumba), candidate of philosophical sciences, touched on the problem of determining the chronological boundaries of the history of Latin America, as well as providing an organic synthesis of all the periods of its development. In this connection the study of the reflection of the worldview of the pre-Colombian epoch deserves particular attention as individual elements of it comprise an organic part of the ideas of present-day thinkers.

The presentation by V.F. Titov, (Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov), candidate of philosophical sciences, was devoted to the place and significance of Marxist philosophy in the Latin American countries. He emphasized that Marxist philosophy represents a most important factor in the ideological struggle of present-day Latin America; its significance has grown especially since the victory of the Cuban revolution. Marxism has deep roots in the cultural traditions of the continent's countries; however, the study of its real role in the ideological-political struggle, V.F. Titov thinks, is being inadequately carried out, without the necessary analysis of real processes.

The "roundtable" revealed many problems which need further work, interpretation and the development of methodology for their resolution.

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CONFERENCE STUDIES HISTORY OF GRANMA EPISODE

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 87 pp 136-139

[Article by A.A. Sukhostat: "Prologue to the Guerrilla Struggle in Cuba"]

[Text] There are events in which interest does not weaken with the passage of time. They include the landing from the "Granma" of Fidel Castro's expeditionary detachment, which marked the beginning of the guerrilla war in Cuba. One is gripped not only by the heroics of the drama which unfolded and by the desire to know everything about it but also by the significance which it had for the fate of the Cuban revolution and for the development of the liberation movement on the entire continent. An important role is played here by the careful work of a small but strong group of researchers concerned with discovering and making available to scholars new sources on this subject matter.

The second scientific conference devoted to the historical epopee of the "Granma" (the first took place 10 years ago) was held on 28 November 1986 in the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Foreign Countries. It was organized by the Institute of Latin America of the USSR Academy of Sciences (ILA), the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences (IEWSS), the Institute of World History of the USSR Academy of Sciences (IWH), the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Links with Foreign Countries, the Society for Soviet-Cuban Friendship (SSCF) and the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America. The SSCF president V.A. Shatalov, a pilot-cosmonaut who has been named Hero of the Soviet Union twice, made the opening remarks.

Further intensification of important aspects of the research related to the "Granma" landing took place at the conference. [1] For example, the reports by A.D. Bekarevich (ILA) and M.I. Mokhnachev (Institute of Social Sciences) used greater factual material than before to trace the expedition's preparatory work; they analyzed in a well substantiated manner the effect of the subjective factor in the revolution, which had been given less attention previously. The paper by I.D. Statsenko (Institute of Military History) treated the little-studied question of the relationship between the "Granma" epopee and the establishment of the country's revolutionary armed forces, which celebrate 2 December as their birthday. This problem was also touched upon by Z.I. Sokolova (ILA), who linked it with the Mexican period in the

activities of the "26th of July Movement." She directed attention to the need for further study of Cuban archives which preserve the personal effects of the expedition participants; their letters to relatives; the military charter, personally written by F. Castro; literary works and notebooks. From these documents it is clear that a guerrilla detachment was created out of professional revolutionaries and workers--the main force in the first unit of the new army.

M.A. Okuneva (Institute of the International Workers Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences) and A.I. Gordiyevskaya (ILA) talked about the position of the working class on the eve of the expedition and in the course of it. As F. Castro pointed out, an understanding of the role of the proletariat as the "only genuinely revolutionary class, which was called on to destroy capitalist society before the founding," played a very important role in the ideological formation of the new revolutionaries. The reports also noted that the working class experienced the powerful influence of the self-sacrificing struggle of the revolutionary democrats; one of the outstanding acts of this struggle was the "Granma" expedition. In his report Ya.G. Mashbits (Institute of Geography of the USSR Academy of Sciences) touched on the more general problem of the historical-geographical face of Cuba at the moment of the "Granma" landing.

The expedition was the culmination of numerous attempts by Cuban patriots with arms in their hands to land on their native soil and to bring it genuine liberation, even at the cost of their own lives. In the years of the national-liberation struggle (1895-1898) this form was used by J. Marti, M. Gomez and A. Maseo. It is worth noting that the expeditionary force included not only Cubans but also people of other nationalities, even Englishmen. This was the subject of presentations by Ye.A. Larin (IWH) and A.S. Babenko (ILA).

V.A. Borodayev (ILA) dwelt on a little-researched aspect of the revolutionary struggle--the Cuban communists' campaign of solidarity with the members of the "Granma" expedition. It is well known that at the moment when the "26th of July Movement" began the armed struggle in the eastern part of the country, some of the leaders of the NSP (National Socialist Party) mistakenly assumed that as before the necessary conditions were lacking to carry out the struggle. However, it is important that the communists manifested class revolutionary solidarity with the "26th of July Movement." The "Carta semanal" of 12 December 1956 said: "Regardless of our condemnation of their methods and tactics, today we face a real fact that the followers of the "26th of July Movement" have undertaken an action with a goal--to overthrow the Batista government--that is just; the government is persecuting them and trying to destroy them with the harshness typical of a despotic regime. It is necessary to stop the bloody hand of tyranny." "The first real condition for the establishment of peace in the country," they wrote, "can be the departure of the government. From the very start of the armed struggle the NSP, the "26th of July Movement," and somewhat later the "Revolutionary Directorate" acted as natural allies, constituting parts of a general flow aimed at overthrowing the dictatorship and complementing each other. The joint struggle on a consistently class basis was needed to unite them. And that is what subsequently took place.

On a broader plane G.A. Dementyev (ILA) touched on the problems of solidarity with other peoples of Latin America. In a letter dated 17 March 1958 F. Castro wrote to the former president of Mexico, General L. Cardenas: "We are deeply grateful for the kind attention which you gave us...as a result of which we are now fulfilling our debt to the people of Cuba." Venezuelan patriots also provided great support; in December 1958 they sent the Guerrilla Army a consignment of weapons. Solidarity was also manifested in the personal participation by the best sons of Latin America in the revolutionary battles in Cuba.

One of those patriot-internationalists was, as is well known, Ernesto Che Guevara. In his words the events of 2 December 1956 provided a powerful impetus for the formation of a combat vanguard of the Cuban working people to achieve the strategic and tactical goals set out by F. Castro in 1953 in his remarkable speech "History Will Vindicate Me." After the "Granma," according to Che, the subjective factor acquired great significance; "the victory or defeat of the revolution depended" on the individual abilities of the fighters. At the conference C. Tablada Perez (State Council of Cuba) presented a detailed analysis of Guevara's views on the role of the "Granma" in the country's liberation movement.

L.S. Poskonina (ILA) analyzed the concepts of a number of bourgeois authors on the guerrilla struggle, beginning with the "Granma." In their attempts to identify this struggle with terrorism, they depict it not as part of a broad revolutionary process, which included urban resistance as well as anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorial actions by practically all strata of Cuban society, but as a tool in the hands of forces competing among themselves in the struggle for power. Further, the "26th of July Movement" is presented as a conspiratorial organization which did not enjoy the support of the masses, and the landing from the "Granma" is portrayed as a purely "blankist" action. They completely ignore the fact that it is precisely as a result of such actions that the struggle of the guerrillas received broad support from the popular masses. Thus the bourgeois ideologues keep silent about the fact that the guerrilla movement and the increase in urban resistance were very important factors which gave rise to the growth of the revolutionary struggle against the Batista dictatorship.

It is no accident that a great deal of the conference time was taken up with questions related to the building of socialism in Cuba, which was the real embodiment of that course which was laid down by the "Granma" among the storms and winds of history in Cuba. Whether the discussion was about the creation of the united party of the Cuban revolution (M.A. Manasov--IEWSS), the socialist industrialization of the country (O.A. Panyushkina--IEWSS), the economic strategy of the communist party at the present stage (G.A. Levykina--ILA), the formation of the national economic complex under conditions of the international socialist division of labor (Ye. D. Volkova--MVISH [not further identified]; M.S. Gradova--IEWSS), the achievements of the Cuban working people in the social sphere, public health care in Cuba (Ye.Ye. Shestakova, M.A. Shpakovskaya--IEWSS), Cuba's contribution to the struggle to resolve the question of Latin America's foreign debt (L.S. Mazun--IEWSS), etc.--everywhere one could trace that impetus provided by the "Granma" in its time.

However, now, as F. Castro noted from the platform of the 3d Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, "the discussion is not about a handful of people on a small boat, where there were more ideas than weapons but about an enormous and sound ship for which neither waves, wind or storms hold any terrors. This time its cargo consists of dreams which have become reality and reality, which is interwoven with dreams which are still to be fulfilled." And the best monument to those who 30 years ago set off for the shores of Cuba is the platform adopted by the Communist Party of Cuba during the anniversary days at the concluding stage of the 3d Congress; it is an impressive summary of the results achieved on the fighting track, which was begun on such a high note and which found an echo in the scientific conference in Moscow.

FOOTNOTES

- 1."Granma: istoricheskiy opyt i znachenije. Nauchnaya konferentsiya. Moskva. 28 Noyabrya 1986 g. Tezisy dokladov i vystupleniy" [The Granma: Historical Experience and Significance. Scientific Conference. Moscow 28 November 1986. Theses of Reports and Presentations] A.D. Bekarevich, Editor-in-chief. Moscow, ILA AS USSR, 1986.

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USSR-LATIN AMERICA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE ON 'STATE TERRORISM'

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 87 pp 139-142

[Article by Yu.I. Papchenko: "In the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America: The Policy of State Terrorism--a Threat to Peace and the Security of Peoples"]

[Text] One of the dangerous phenomena of present-day international life is the policy of state terrorism, which the imperialist circles of the USA and their accomplices are conducting. Not a day goes by that we do not recognize the concrete expressions of this policy--from the murder of individual citizens and public figures to acts of aggression against sovereign states. It is no accident that this problem was discussed at a roundtable meeting of the Solidarity Committee. The participants included well-known Soviet scholars, lawyers specializing in international law, representatives of the public and journalists.

The following people presented reports: Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, director of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences and vice president of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers; G.B. Starushenko, deputy director of the Institute of Africa and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Professor M.I. Lazarev, doctor of juridical sciences and senior research officer of the Institute of Latin America of the USSR Academy of Sciences; N.V. Zhdanov, candidate of juridical sciences and lecturer at the Academy of Social Sciences; Professor V.A. Kartashkin, senior research officer of the Institute of State and the Law and Professor I.P. Blishchenko, head of the Department of International Law at the University of the Friendship of Peoples imeni P. Lumumba, vice president of the Association of Soviet Lawyers and a UN expert on international law.

In his opening remarks V.N. Kudravtsev noted the timeliness of the conference theme. The Soviet scholar emphasized that the increase in terrorist activity, and specifically acts of state terrorism by the United States, Israel and the Republic of South Africa which recently have become more frequent, present the progressive world community with the need to work out effective measures for international prevention of such crimes and to establish legal responsibility for them; in addition, it is necessary to clarify the actual concept of state terrorism. Various formulations and explanations were proposed.

G.B. Starushenko: There are many definitions of state terrorism. However, in our view, the following formulation is the most accurate: acts of violence which are undertaken by states in violation of generally recognized norms of international law for the achievement of certain political, economic and other goals.

I.P. Blishchenko. State terrorism manifests itself in different forms. First of all this can be armed actions which are carried out by means of military formations. They are also criminal acts by the special services of the imperialist states, for example, the assassination of social and political figures. And, finally, there is another form of state terrorism--and that is crimes, carried out by dictatorial regimes against their own people. In all three situations we come up against state terrorism, which is accompanied by a complete rejection of international legality.

M.I. Lazarev: There is no legal definition of the term "state terrorism" yet, and the task of democratic lawyers and the progressive forces is to formulate clearly the concrete content of this concept, the forms in which it is manifested, the subject and object of the actions of this phenomenon, its purposes, means, etc. We must not fail to note that many lawyers in the West do not recognize the term "state terrorism." Terrorism is the use of violence for the purpose of creating an atmosphere of fear among the people whom the terrorists influence in order to achieve from them the commission of certain actions favorable to the terrorists. And we see in practice that frequently the subjects of terrorism are not only private persons, individual factions and organizations but also imperialist states. Life provides an enormous number of examples in this area, and of course, one of the most glaring is the U.S. policy of state terrorism in Latin America.

G.B. Starushenko. Imperialist propaganda stubbornly and persistently links the policy of state terrorism primarily to the African and Latin American countries. It is claimed that they are the ones who initiate and carry out such a policy. They try to heap all the blame on them, and the socialist states are presented as sponsors of this policy. They claim that if the socialist states, specifically the USSR, did not support these countries, there would be no policy of terrorism in the world. The Western states, and primarily the USA, attempt to present the national liberation movements as terroristic.

From the viewpoint of international law, liberation movements can appeal to other states for assistance and receive it because colonialism and racism, like slavery in its time, are set outside the law by international legal norms. Thus, assistance which is given to states and liberation movements conducting a struggle against racism and colonialism are lawful.

M.I. Lazarev. The Soviet Union has always been an opponent of terror. As long ago as December 1934 a USSR representative speaking at the League of Nations stated that a characteristic of the latest terrorism was that it nearly always became an instrument of a policy which represented a threat to peace. At that time the Soviet government expressed its willingness to participate in a collective struggle against international terrorism. In 1937 two conventions on the struggle against terrorism were worked out: "On

Preventing and Cutting Off International Terrorism," and "On Creating a Permanent Judicial Chamber As a Court for Terrorists." The USA, England and France did not sign them. Terrorism is a weapon of imperialist governments.

V.A. Kartashkin. Now, as never before, there is a need to conclude the appropriate conventions or an international treaty, which not only would declare state terrorism outside the law, but also would establish concrete forms of responsibility for international crimes. The development and adoption of such an international legal document would serve as a warning to all those forces of imperialism and reaction which are carrying out a policy of state terrorism.

I.P. Blishchenko. The problem of responsibility for acts of state terrorism has found reflection in a decision of the International Court of the UN. The court at the Hague stated that the assistance which the United States has given to the "contras" and the military or semimilitary actions which it has organized against Nicaragua are violations of the general principles of international law. The court posed the question of U.S. responsibility, including material responsibility, for its support of the "contras" on Nicaraguan territory.

Soviet proposals to raise the effectiveness of international law on this question were raised at the 27th CPSU Congress: they comprise a system of all-encompassing security, and collective efforts by all countries aimed against international terrorism would be one aspect of this system.

G.B. Starushenko. I would like to emphasize that international legality is the same for all states, large and small. And now it is essential to unite the efforts of the entire progressive community to create in the world the kind of situation which would ensure general security and the elimination from political practice of international terrorism and its most dangerous form--state terrorism.

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USSR FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES IN LATIN AMERICA REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 3, Mar 87 pp 143-144

[Article by A.I. Sizonenko: "Toward New Frontiers of Cooperation"]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress provided a dynamic new impetus to Soviet foreign policy. Its constructive and peace-loving nature is convincingly manifested in the relations between the Soviet Union and the Latin American states, which have acquired qualitatively new content of late. Official visits to the USSR have recently been made by the foreign ministers of Brazil (O. Setubal, December 1985), Argentina, (D. Caputo, January 1986) and Uruguay (E. Iglesias, July 1986). E.A. Shevardnadze, the USSR minister of foreign affairs visited Mexico in October 1986. And finally, in that same month, R. Alfonsin, the president of Argentina visited our country.

The expansion of contacts with the region's largest countries is an expected phenomenon. It testifies, on the one hand, to the further growth of USSR prestige in Latin America and the growing recognition of its role in the struggle for the preservation of peace and for the interests of the developing states and, on the other hand, to the increased the influence of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Uruguay in the world arena and to their active desire to expand their own foreign policy horizons. For example, the newspaper FOLIA DE SAN PAULO noted that Setubal's visit "is a component of the government's strategy to ensure the country's authority." The press of Argentina characterized R. Alfonsin's visit to the Soviet Union as "historic."

All of the meetings which took place were characterized by a constructive and business-like atmosphere, and by a mutual striving for further development of bilateral ties. For this reason it is not surprising that the visits have resulted in the signing of multifaceted documents and the achievement of important agreements. For example, the USSR and Brazil signed a memorandum of mutual understanding (which establishes a mechanism of consultation on international problems of mutual interest), as well as an agreement on economic and technical cooperation. A protocol was signed with Argentina on mutual consultations, as well as an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation. Similar documents have been signed with Uruguay.

The discussion of international problems took up a great deal of time at the talks which were held. The Soviet and Latin American government figures were

completely unanimous that the international situation remains extremely tense. They expressed deep concern on the subject of the ever-spiralling arms race and the risk of expanding the latter into outer space; they emphasized the need to strengthen the general peace and security through the elimination of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union reaffirmed its high opinion of the activities of Mexico and Argentina within the framework of the "Delhi Six," and it supported the principles and goals of the "Mexican Declaration."

The parties expressed their opposition to the policy of pressure and outside interference in the affairs of the Central American countries, as well as their support for a peaceful and fair settlement of the crisis situation which has developed in the subregion. Full support was expressed for the peace-loving efforts of the Contadora group. The Soviet Union praised Brazil's initiative on the conversion of the South Atlantic into a zone of peace and cooperation and confirmed its own fundamental position on the need to achieve a political settlement of the problem of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands based on existing UN resolutions.

The visit of President R. Alfonsin to the USSR had particularly great significance. In a joint statement the parties expressed mutual interest in the establishment of cooperation in the area of the peaceful development of outer space. R. Alfonsin issued to M.S. Gorbachev an invitation to visit Argentina, which was gratefully received.

These new phenomena in the development of relations between the USSR and the Latin American countries should be viewed as closely related events rather than as isolated ones. In essence, the discussion concerns the formation of a qualitatively different inter-state system of dialog, which is in keeping with the spirit of the new political thinking. Economic and scientific-technical cooperation are also reaching a higher level. All this has very great significance for the countries of the southern cone which have started down the path of democratization. Because they value highly the results of the visits, the progressive forces of these states are carrying out an active struggle for the further intensification and expansion of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

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QUESTION OF AUTONOMY FOR NICARAGUA'S MISKITOS, OTHER GROUPS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by V. Listov, special PRAVDA correspondent:: "From a Nicaraguan Notebook: There, Beyond the Hills, is the 'Country of Miskitia'"]

[Text] Managua-Moscow--"By lying to me and tricking me as well as other Indians, they involved me in counterrevolutionary activities. From the time we arrived in the Somoza camps in the territory of Honduras we have been treated like animals. There has been no end to debasement and mockery. Having recognized my guilt before the homeland, I decided to lay down my arms and give myself up to the authorities. I am appealing to all Indians who are still in Honduras--put down your arms and return to the homeland..."

This was the appeal of (Raymond Hunter), former member of the emigre counterrevolutionary Indian organization, Misurasata. What induced him to reevaluate his positions and turn away from participation in the undeclared war against the Nicaraguan people? And in general how can we explain the fact that now there is little response to the propaganda hostile to the Sandinists which was "understood" by the Indian people and that the "contras" lose more and more Indian their support?

Nicaragua is a multi-national country. Some of the difficulties encountered by the Sandinist regime were generated by the lack of a solution to the Indian question, or to the ethnic problem, as the Nicaraguans say. Its historical roots are deep and go back to the far colonial past. The Indian tribes of Miskitos, Sumus, Ramas and Garifons have been living in the north and northeast from time immemorial, occupying almost half of today's territory in the country. Spanish conquistadores from Mexico settled on the shore of the Pacific Ocean where the weather was better, and they were not able to subjugate the warlike Indian peoples.

The victory of the 1979 Sandinist revolution resulted in the growth of the consciousness of the Indian peoples and gave rise to the hope that they would become autonomous and self-governing. However, subsequent events elucidated difficulties in addition to those traditional complexities involved in dealing with the ethnic problem.

"Indians practically did not know what 'Somozism' was," said the director of the BARRIKADA information department, Morales. "In other words, the Sandinists saved the Indian population from a tyranny they knew about only through hearsay."

I recall a discussion in the National Commission on Autonomy.

The Indian people wanted immediate autonomy without waiting for the new constitution to be approved. Their enemies announced that they would implement their legal rights without prior arrangements," said the member of the commission, the well-known economist, sociologist and ethnologist, Manuel Ortega Herr. "The authorities were slow to respond. Then the nationalist minority began to express its dissatisfaction. The enemies of the revolution who were encouraging separatist sentiments did not fail to utilize this. We had a poor idea of the real situation on the Atlantic coast. The local population, most of which did not participate in the liberation movement, had a vague understanding of the Sandinist front of national liberation although it was the first political organization which as early as 1969 included in its program the problem of the ethnic populations in the country."

"Nevertheless," continued Ortega Herr, "we had no clear idea about the depth and seriousness of the ethnic problem. The first emissaries of the new authorities who went there thought that the local population simply had to be 'organized,' and then it would be easy to 'pull it out of ignorance and develop it.' They supposed that everywhere there were committees for the defense of the Sandinist revolution and democratic organization. It turned out there was nothing of the sort."

"How was it that the Indian organization, Misurasata, first cooperated with the Sandinist government and then moved to its counterrevolutionary position?" I asked.

"The fact is," answered my interlocutor, "that Misurasata was thought to be the only organization through which it was possible to deal with the Miskitos. Misurasata was assigned the task of representing the Sandinista government and thus the ethnic question turned out to be completely in its hands. As we learned later, the leader of Misurasata, Steadman Fagoth Muller, was an agent of the CIA, which also established the 'strategic' goals of the organization. And it planned the elimination of Sandinist power and the separation of Miskitia from Nicaragua. The plot was uncovered and Fagoth fled to Honduras."

There were other troublesome examples--large numbers of Sumu Indians went to neighboring Honduras because they did not accept the policy of forced resettlement into regions which were not affected by military operations against the "contras."

But the Sandinist revolution is gaining experience and is maturing in the course of its uneasy growth. In 1984 the National Commission on Autonomy was created; it has followed the path of dealing constructively with national questions with a consideration of the interests of Indian peoples.

The results of the turnaround "to face the ethnic problem" were felt immediately. The situation in "the country of Miskitia" began to change for the better. Indians began to return from Honduras to their native regions although an official communication giving them permission to freely do so did not follow until June 1985. Since then thousands of Miskito and Sumu families have returned to Nicaragua. This was a serious blow to the plans of the Nicaraguan contras and their Washington protectors, who were counting on using the Indian people further as "cannon-fodder" in the undeclared war against Nicaragua's Sandinists.

The main result of the new approach was a recognition of the fact that minority peoples have their own interests and legal rights, and first and foremost the right to a certain degree of autonomy. This was reflected in the new constitution. The section, "Rights, Duties and Guarantees of the Nicaraguan Peoples" includes a section called, "The Rights of the Communities on the Atlantic Coast." It consists of three items. One of them forbids discrimination "on the basis of language, culture and national origin," and another states (article 89) that the Indian peoples "have the right to preserve and develop their cultural independence within the framework of national unity, to develop their own forms of public organization and to manage their own local affairs in accordance with their traditions." It is assumed that in the course of the referendum, which will be carried out later, the Indian people will decide what kind of autonomy theirs should be, after which the corresponding corrections will be made in the text of Nicaragua's basic law.

The correction of mistakes which were tolerated during the first years after the victory of the Sandinist revolution and the expansion of its social base are already bearing fruit. At a meeting of representatives of the government and the Indian organization, Kisan [Nicaraguan Coast Indian Unity], which took place last year, a desire for peace on the basis of dialogue was expressed. Kisan leaders considered the support of the contras by Washington as the main obstacle on the path toward providing autonomy to ethnic groups and appealed to all communities of Miskitos with a request to impede the activities of those forces which are opposed to negotiations with the Sandinist government.

Just a few days ago the leader of Misurasata, Fagoth, held a press conference in Miami at which he announced that his group "is ceasing" military operations against the Sandinistas. He said this decision was motivated by the disorder that reigned in the contra camp. Actually the main reason, and Fagoth had to admit this, was that more and more Miskito refugees are expressing a desire to return to Nicaragua.

Solving the problem of national minorities is indisputably a complex and very difficult process. It takes place in the acute struggle of the old with the new and requires flexibility, patience and time. A guarantee that the

Sandinist revolution will maintain victory in this direction as well is that more and more Indians are beginning to realize who their true friends are. They are beginning to understand Sandinist policy more and more and to more decisively turn in the direction of national power.

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JAPAN-U.S. CONTROVERSY OVER TRADE DISCUSSED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by I. Latyshev: Japan and the U.S.A.: Exacerbation of Contradictions - From PRAVDA's own correspondent"]

[Text] Tokyo--The prime minister of Japan, Yasuhiro Nakasone, planned a routine visit to the United States in late April. He planned it despite the very tense situation that has developed now in the Japanese parliament and in the country's political world in general. What urged the prime minister on to such a decision? There is just one answer--the routine and at the same time critical complication of Japanese-American economic relations.

We can judge the increased contradictions and disagreements between the two largest economic powers of the capitalist world best of all by means of the tone of pronouncements and declarations by representatives of both countries. Almost every day acrid mutual accusations fly back and forth between Washington to Tokyo about the most varied breaches and about ignoring the interests of opposing parties, about violations of previous obligations, about insincerity, about cheating and about secret evil intentions. No other country arouses as much censure in the Japanese business community and press as the United States.

On both sides of the Pacific Ocean most attention is being focused on the chronic and ever-increasing imbalance in Japanese-American trade. The trade deficit between the United States and Japan that has been increasing from year to year reached truly gargantuan proportions in 1985--49.7 billion dollars. In 1986 it was even larger--58.6 billion, which exacerbated financial and internal economic difficulties in the United States. In Washington the cause of this evil is attributed to the "self-interested" and "dishonest" attempts by Japanese employers to flood the American market with their goods. In flaming anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States, the owners of many American companies are turning to U.S. government institutions with complaints about the fact that Japanese competition is forcing them to curtail production and to implement mass firing of personnel in their enterprises. Thus, for example, automobile concerns in the United States see Japanese competition as the main reason for their financial failures. And this is so despite the fact that because of pressure from them the Japanese were forced to noticeably limit their imports to the United States in recent years (the "voluntary"

maximum established by the Japanese themselves allows them to import no more than 2,300,000 cars per year into the USA).

Arousing particular indignation in Americans recently were violations by Japanese manufacturers of semiconductors of a bilateral Japanese-American agreement on fixing the prices for these goods, which was just signed in August of last year. Business circles in the United States are angrily claiming that the Japanese are involved in a plot to "dump" their goods in the American semiconductor market.

Displeasure with the U.S. business world simultaneously gives rise to a lack of desire on the part of the Japanese to correct the trade imbalance of both countries by eliminating duties and other barriers which block the path of American goods into Japan's domestic market. American manufacturers are complaining in particular about the restrictions on the importation into Japan of America's latest "super" computers as well as citrus, meat products and rice.

The Japanese side can also hold up its end in the argument. Tokyo's economic experts usually explain the rapid growth in the trade deficit between the United States and Japan by the inability of American manufacturers to make inexpensive goods of high quality that are capable of withstanding Japanese competition. They accuse Washington's administrative circles of intentionally decreasing the rate of exchange of the dollar in comparison to the yen (during last year alone this exchange rate dropped almost 40 percent and now fluctuates at the level of 150 yen to the dollar). In Washington's financial machinations, which are directed at lowering the exchange rate of the dollar, Japanese business circles see an anti-Japanese trend, the essence of which consists of artificial inflation of the sales price of Japanese goods in the U.S. domestic market and consequently, of thus decreasing the competitive value and sales volume of these goods. It is noted that for Japan this policy results in great surpluses of the aforementioned goods and in the curtailment of their production, with all the grave social consequences arising from this, including mass unemployment. The Japanese side sees the previously unheard-of growth in unemployment, which is near the 2 million mark, as a direct result of Washington's currency-financial intrigues.

But at the same time there is a clear manifestation of the lack of desire on the part of the Japanese to correct the trade imbalance with the United States by means of opening up the doors to their domestic market to Americans. The customs authorities here provide access to Japan's domestic market by allowing only those American goods which obviously cannot compare to Japanese goods in either price or quality.

In recent weeks in the U.S. Congress and administration circles a question was openly raised about whether the deep intrusion of Japanese firms into the production of semiconductors and into other branches of the American economy related to the military industry threatened the "security" and "defense interests" of the United States. It was on this basis, after the interference of the US Defense Ministry, that the American government refused to allow the famous Japanese firm, Fujitsu, to purchase controlling interest in the

Fairchild Company, which manufactures semiconductors. Naturally, this type of behavior by the American side caused a negative response in Japan.

In the growing competition between the monopolies of the two countries the Japanese side is probably more successful than the American, which gives rise to anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States. Recently the U.S. Congress has risen to protect American businessmen who are suffering material and moral losses from Japanese competition. On 19 March the Senate, and then on 25 March the House of Representatives of the Congress, approved resolutions giving the president of the United States the authority to levy punitive duties and to take other economic measures against countries which violate contractual obligations in trade with the United States and which resort to "dishonest means for carrying out operations."

But the most frightening news for Nakasone's cabinet and Japan's business circles was the 27 March decision by the president of the United States, R. Reagan, to levy duty "fines" on a number of Japanese goods imported into the United States at a rate of 100 percent of their cost beginning in the second 10-day period of April. In particular, we are speaking about articles such as radios, televisions, record players, pocket calculators and other consumer technology that operates on semiconductors. Total fines will equal about \$ 300 million, which according to Washington's explanations, should reimburse American manufacturers of such items for similar losses suffered by them when Japanese firms violated the agreement on fixing semiconductor prices. The Japanese feel that American restrictions practically exclude the export of many of the aforementioned products into the United States.

R. Reagan's decision resulted in dismay in Tokyo's business and political circles. After all, never before had "Uncle Sam" carried out threats as regards American-Japanese trade frictions. And here such a heavy blow was being dealt by none other than the president of the United States, who practically had the reputation here of being Japan's "best friend." Because of this there was complete discordance. Some representatives of the Japanese government and the business world are indignant and shake their fists, threatening the United States with some kind of reciprocal economic measures while others call for "prudence," "self-possession" and "learning a lesson" from what has happened.

As for Prime Minister Nakasone, under existing circumstances he clearly does not intend to move toward further exacerbation of problems with the White House. The first reaction of his cabinet to Reagan's decision was a proposal to begin "special" Japanese-American talks without delay in order to clear up the "misunderstanding" that has developed.

One of the main reasons for the constant successes of Japan's monopolies in the "trade war" with American competition and for the almost unhindered penetration of Japanese capital into the U.S. economy is the fact that the White House in its reactions to Tokyo gave and continues to give priority not to economic but to military-strategic and political concepts. For Reagan's administration in the past as well as today, Japan is above all an important U.S. military partner and the main political supporter of the United States in

the Pacific Ocean and Southeast Asia. This is well-understood by Tokyo. Here the hope is that the course toward expanding Japanese-American military cooperation, toward further arming Japan and toward Japan's participation in SDI will help the Japanese side even in this tense situation to somehow butter up and disarm the White House in disputes on economic questions. Moreover, Nakasone has a very nice "gift" for the president and his helpers in the Pentagon--the recent decision on future increases in the budget for military expenditures in Japan above the previous ceiling of 1 percent of the country's GNP.

This is today's complex picture of Japanese-American relations, marred by a mass of "sore spots." It is difficult to foresee the solution, if there is a solution during this round in the American-Japanese ring.

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CSO: 1807/278

JAPAN BANS FIRMS' TIES WITH USSR AFTER U.S. 'PRESSURE'

LD161549 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 16 May 87

[Text] Tokyo May 16 TASS--TASS correspondent Vasilii Golovnin reports: Yielding to pressure from Washington, the Japanese Government has made an unprecedented decision to impose tough sanctions against a major machine building firm, Toshiba Kikai, accused of violating the discriminatory restrictions on economic ties with the USSR.

By decision of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, it was banned for one year from contracting export deals with socialist countries which is tantamount to paying a fine of nearly 38 million dollars. At the same time, strict administrative sanctions were used against trading firms Itochu Shioji and Vako Koeki. The newspaper YOMIURI writes today that these government measures have caused an outcry in the Japanese business community which seeks to expand its trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Several years ago Toshiba Kikai supplied to the Soviet Union four numerically-controlled machine tools through firms Itochu Shioju and Vako Koeki, with the authorization of local authorities. Later, however, the Pentagon announced that that deal threatened U.S. security and violated the notorious restrictions of the Coordinating Committee on Export Controls, COCOM, claiming that the Japanese equipment could be used in the manufacture of propellers for Soviet submarines. At first, official Tokyo did not pay any attention to Washington's absurd accusations. Recently, however, U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger had hinted that Japan was in for serious trouble if it failed to take action against Toshiba Kikai.

Tokyo, YOMIURI writes, accepted American demands fearing that Washington, in conditions of a sharp aggravation of bilateral trade differences, would step up economic attacks on its Far Eastern competitor, including the imposition of new sanctions against Japanese goods. Local business circles are concerned that the blind observance of COCOM rules can result in reduced Japanese exports to the USSR, noting that businessmen pin great hopes on expanding Soviet exports at a time when capitalist markets experience depression, the newspaper writes.

/6662

CSO: 1812/224

JAPANESE TRADE FAIR OPENS IN VLADIVOSTOK

OW261255 Tokyo KYODO in English 1238 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Vladivostok, May 26 KYODO--A large Japanese trade fair opened in Vladivostok, the site of the home port of the Soviet Union's Pacific fleet, Tuesday, symbolizing Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of "glasnost" (openness) to the outside world.

The five-day fair, displaying several hundred industrial products, is intended to promote bilateral trade across the Sea of Japan.

It is the first foreign fair to be held in Vladivostok since Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, in a speech here on July 28 last year, declared that the city, the biggest in the Soviet Far East, will be opened as a new international center for promotion of cooperation with Asia-Pacific countries. In the past, foreigners were barred from the port city.

About 130 Japanese representatives are participating in the fair from trading firms, various interested organizations and local governments.

The total value of the exhibits--about 1.55 million dollars--is twice that of the previous Japanese trade fair in the Far East, which was held in Nakhodka in 1984, testifying to the eagerness of both Japanese and Soviet quarters concerned for increasing mutual trade.

Among the exhibits are personal computers for industrial use, word processors, precision measuring instruments, food-processing machines and sewing machines.

Both Japanese and Soviet guests, speaking at the opening ceremony, stressed the historical significance of the fair and expressed hopes for promotion of Japan-Soviet relations.

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CSO: 1812/224

PRC PARTICIPATES IN MOSCOW INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION

OW281418 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0100 GMT 28 May 87

[Dmitriyev report]

[Text] A 1987 international construction industry exhibition, participated by China, opened in Moscow on 27 May. On this, our special correspondent Dmitriyev has filed the following report.

At a press conference held on 26 May, Soviet and foreign reporters were surprised to learn that Even Sokolniki, the largest exhibition complex in Moscow, could not hold all the displays, and that the exhibition has had to be held in both Sokolniki and Krasnaya Presnya, another large exhibition center.

Speaking at the press conference, Petrovranov, chairman of the Soviet Chamber of Industry and Commerce, said: I am very pleased to note the growing interest among major foreign companies in developing cooperation with my country. Enterprises and organizations from 23 countries will display their latest achievements in advanced construction technology and equipment, as well as new building materials, tools, designs, and products. The China Exports and Imports Company has participated in the construction industry exhibition held in Soviet Union for the first time.

Comrade Petrovranov said: [Begin recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] I would especially like to mention that China has often participated in various exhibitions held in the Soviet Union. In accordance with an agreement on holding exhibitions in each other's country signed between Jik Shi, chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, and the Soviet Chamber of Industry and Commerce, a large-scale Chinese industry and trade exhibition was held in Moscow last August. A similar Soviet exhibition was held in Beijing toward the end of last year. In addition, a number of small exhibitions were held in China and the Soviet Union. Participants in the 1987 international construction industry exhibition may be interested in the display by the China Metals and Mineral Ores Exports and Imports Company and the China Building Materials and Equipment Exports and Imports Company.

Comrade Petrovranov said: The exchange of exhibitions in each other's countries is an important factor in developing mutually beneficial trade relations and consolidating Soviet-Chinese economic ties. This is of special significance in view of the efforts by both countries to solve similar problems in accelerating their social and economic development.

At the press conference, officials from the Soviet State Construction Committee and the Construction Materials Industry Ministry answered reporters' questions about prospects of foreign companies' cooperation with the Soviet Union in the construction industry and the preliminary procedures for applying for the establishment of joint ventures in the Soviet Union. Negotiations are underway with companies from a number of capitalist as well as socialist countries. We have accumulated experience in such cooperation with China. Recently delegations from the Soviet Construction Materials Industry Ministry and the State Construction Committee successively visited China. Currently, relevant Soviet and Chinese organizations are negotiating on the establishment of a joint thermos plant in the Soviet Union.

Before the opening of the exhibition, this reporter called on the Chinese exhibition team, and was granted an interview with (Lu Zhongqing), director of the Chinese Exhibition Department of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade. Here is what he said:

[Begin (Lu Zhongqing) recording] We have been invited to participate in the 1987 international construction industry exhibition in Moscow in accordance with a trade agreement signed between the governments of the two countries on holding exhibitions in each other's countries annually from 1986 through 1990. In the current exhibition, we will display mainly Chinese construction and repairing materials. This is the first time we have participated in a specialized exhibition. We hope that through our display more Soviet friends will familiarize themselves with Chinese construction materials and equipment in order to increase our bilateral trade. As far as this is concerned, we have cherished and strived to realize our good wishes in recent years. In our barter trade, however, our needs differ; and the trade has been conducted to meet each other's needs. I believe that bilateral trade will grow in line with the interests of our two countries. [end recording]

The exhibition will remain open until 5 June, during which time participants will exchange experience and scientific and technological information, establish mutually beneficial ties, and sign business contracts. Each participating nation will observe its day during the exhibition. The Chinese day will fall on 29 May.

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CSO: 1812/224

BOOK EXAMINES COURSE OF SOVIET-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 5--ISTORIYA (REFERATIVNYY ZHURNAL) in Russian No 1, 1987

[Review by A. A. Dubrovin of book "Istoriya Sovetsko-Vyetnamskikh Otnosheniy, 1917-1985" [History of Soviet-Vietnamese Relations] by M. P. Isayev, and A. S. Chernyshev, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya [International Relations], 1986. 301 pages, Bibliography pp 292-298]

[Text] The monograph, which studies the process of the origin and development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations, consists of an introduction, 5 chapters and a conclusion, written with the use of Soviet, Vietnamese and other sources.

The first chapter, "The Origin of Soviet-Vietnamese Relations," notes that Great October had a decisive impact on the development of the workers' and national liberation movement in Vietnam and on the world view of Vietnamese revolutionaries, who in 1930 with the support of the international communist movement created the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Working Class and the Working Peasants. Considerable attention is given to the revolutionary activities of Ho Chi Minh, and to relations between Vietnamese revolutionaries and the USSR and the VKR (b) [All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) 1925-1952] during the period of the development of the communist movement in Indochina.

The victory of the Soviet people during the Great Fatherland War and the destruction by the Soviet Army of the Japanese Kwantung Army facilitated the development of a qualitatively new situation in the countries of Indochina. The proclamation in September 1945 of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam--the first workers' and peasants' state in Southeast Asia--signified "the creative application of Marxist-Leninist teaching and the experience of Great October under the specific conditions existing in Vietnam" (p. 54).

The second chapter studies the relationship between the USSR and the DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] during the years of the Vietnam People's War of Resistance [Indochina War] and during the decade of peaceful building (1945 [sic]-1964). The chapter examines the activities of communists with regard to strengthening people's power and to measures directed at consolidating the union of the working class and peasants, at improving the material situation of workers and at strengthening the defense capacity of the DRV. The authors

note that during these years a great deal of attention was given to the international education of the masses and to the use of Soviet experience in the matter of solving complex social and economic problems facing Vietnam. Measures were implemented to strengthen solidarity with the USSR. Vietnamese leaders noted on numerous occasions that in the course of all 9 years of the War of Resistance the Vietnamese people always drew on the sympathy and support of the Soviet people.

The diplomatic recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the Soviet Union in January 1950 and then by other socialist countries brought the young republic out of a state of international isolation and created the international legal prerequisites for further strengthening cooperation between the DRV and the USSR and other fraternal countries. In the book significant space is devoted to the elucidation of questions related to Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in the area of trade and economics, to showing that right after the end of the war in Vietnam the USSR took immediate action to assist the DRV in healing the wounds incurred by many years of war.

The third chapter is devoted to questions related to the development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations during the period of repulsion of U.S. aggression and the liberation of South Vietnam (1965-1975). The characteristic features of the development of multi-faceted Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation during the second half of the 1960's, the activities of the CPSU in support of the struggle of the patriots of Indochina as well as Soviet-Vietnamese ties during the period of the achievement of political regulation of the Vietnamese problem are examined. The great victory of the Vietnamese people over U.S. imperialistic aggression and complete liberation of South Vietnam from the power of the imperialistic regime became the outstanding events in the history of Vietnam and the world revolutionary movement. "This was a triumph for great Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and unity" (p 153).

The development of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation after the unification of Vietnam (1976-1980) is discussed in the fourth chapter. The conclusion in November 1978 in Moscow of an agreement on friendship and cooperation was the historical landmark in the development of relations between the two countries in the second half of the 1970's. The signing of the agreement and the joining of CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Aid] by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV] in the summer of 1978 facilitated the strengthening of solidarity and cooperation between Vietnam and socialist countries and gave the Vietnamese a stable support for the overall development of the SRV and for the protection of its territorial integrity. The second half of the 1970's was noted for increased cooperation between the USSR and the SRV in the area of international politics. The signing of an agreement in 1977-1980 on friendship and cooperation between the SRV and the USSR, the GDR [German Democratic Republic], the NRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria], ChSSR [Czechoslovak Socialist Republic], MNR [Mongolian People's Republic] and LNDR [National Democratic Republic of Laos] placed the relationship between Vietnam and the countries of socialist cooperation on a qualitatively new and even higher level. These important international legal documents confirmed the fundamental principles on which relations between Vietnam and fraternal countries are built. The authors examine Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in the trade-economics and science-technology areas during the years of the SRV's

second five-year plan (1976-1980) and show the importance for the SRV of strengthening economic ties with fraternal socialist republics, of the implementation of division of labor, and of cooperation and mutual aid in the spirit of socialist internationalism.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the overall development and improvement of Soviet-Vietnamese relations during the first half of the 1980's. Examined are the questions of strengthening political ties between the USSR and SRV in 1981-1985 and close coordination of the actions of both countries in the international arena. The process of strengthening Soviet-Vietnamese economic, science-technological and cultural cooperation during the years of the SRV's 3rd Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) are traced.

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CSO: 1807/287

PHILIPPINES' FOREIGN POLICY ANALYZED IN BOOK

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 5--ISTORIYA (REFERATIVNYY ZHURNAL) in Russian No 1, 1987 pp 132-143

[Review by V. L. Sukhanova of book "Arkhipelag trudnoy sudby: ocherki vneshney politiki Filippin" [Archipelago With a Difficult Fate: Notes on the Foreign Policy of the Philippines] by Yu. A. Andreyev, Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya [International Relations], 1986, 173 pages, Bibliography: pp 168-172]

[Text] The book examines the basic directions of foreign policy of the Republic of the Philippines during the 1970's and 1980's. The work consists of an introduction, eight chapters and bibliographic notes.

The author traces the evolution of the country's foreign policy course during the period of government of Ferdinand E. Marcos, especially during the years of the so-called "regime of the state of emergency" [martial law] (1972-1981). In the study considerable attention is given to questions related to the struggle of the Philippines for genuine independent foreign policy, the unequal nature of relations between that country and the United States is noted, the regional ties of the Philippines and the activities of the young government in the international forum of the United Nations are analyzed, the stages of cooperation between the Philippines and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are traced, and the final chapter examines the mechanism of the activities and basic characteristics of the Philippine diplomatic service.

The author writes that the exacerbation of the international situation in the early 1980's as a result of American imperialism, the activation of reactionary anti-communist forces and the strengthening of the arms race in the world had a restraining effect on the development of positive processes in the foreign policy of the Philippines. The country was openly pressured to limit its independence in international affairs and to pull the Philippines into the orbit of confrontation with socialist countries and the region's national liberation movement (p 6). The book also shows the striving for freedom of action in the international arena as the Philippines begin to seek approaches to international problems in accordance with the national interests of the country.

The work singles out six basic tasks that were put before the country's foreign policy department during the period of the "new society": 1) "foreign policy reflects the conscious implementation of the principle of national independence and sovereignty regarding every question and any initiative; 2) foreign policy must serve the goals of national development and progress and must meet the desires of Filipinos; 3) it is necessary to maintain beneficial and advantageous relations with all countries regardless of their ideology; 4) relations between the Philippines and other countries must be based on mutual respect, mutual benefit and mutual observance of each other's sovereignty; 5) Philippine foreign policy identifies itself with the movement for reforms of an international economic order; 6) the Philippines recognize as a fundamental basis of their foreign policy their participation in the United Nations and support the goals and activities of the United Nations Organization (p 29).

In analyzing the fruitful nature of Soviet-Philippine relations, the author notes that "the mutual striving of the Soviet Union and the Philippines to develop and improve friendly relations on the basis of the principles of equality of rights, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other and mutual benefits meet the basic interests of the peoples of both countries and serve the matter of strengthening peace and security in Asia as well as in the entire world" (p 121).

During the 1970's there was a constant expansion in the function of the Philippine diplomatic service, which was called upon to further the country's interests in the international arena. Foreign policy realities awakened the country's leaders to considerably restructure the forms and methods of diplomatic work. In examining the specifics of the development of Philippine foreign policy practices, the author emphasizes that constant growth in the role of the president and his office under the conditions of an authoritarian regime occurred to the detriment of the influence of the MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] on questions related to the development of basic directions in the state's foreign policy. This process developed parallel to the general process of consolidating centralized power in the country, and of the concentration in the hands of the president of essentially unlimited power in the sphere of decision-making on important foreign policy questions. There was also a sharp increase in the importance of organs such as the National Security Council and the Higher Military Council in determining foreign-policy priorities (p 161).

The book contains an analysis of the socialist composition of Philippine diplomatic cadres who, according to the opinion of the author, are represented primarily by people with origins in the national bourgeois. It is also noted that during the period of martial law not only cadres diplomats but also representatives of the army were assigned to the highest diplomatic posts abroad (p 163).

In conclusion the author writes that an independent course in foreign policy and diplomacy opens up to the Philippines broad horizons of cooperation with various countries, including socialist countries. Meanwhile, in this direction the country's government does not always act consistently and decisively. Traditional ties between the Philippines and the West, and first

and foremost with the United States, contradict national interests and gives rise to protests on the part of wide social strata. The author notes that an important role belongs to the anti-base movement, which has as its goal putting an end to the foreign military presence in the archipelago. "In connection with the strengthening of anti-imperialism, the foreign policy course of the Philippines could have a significant effect on the improvement of the situation in Asia" (p 167).

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CSO: 1807/287

BRIEFS

TRADE TALKS WITH AUSTRALIA--Moscow May 27 TASS--The Soviet Union will take part in the World Exhibition Expo-88 to be mounted in the Australian city of Brisbane. Australian firms intend to show their export commodities in Vladivostok, according to a communique, signed here today on the completion of the 3d joint session of the Soviet-Australian Committee for Trade and the Council of Businessmen "Australia-USSR." The sides positively assessed the course of cooperation between organizations and firms in the two countries and came out in favour of further broadening trade and economic ties. It was pointed out that there had been considerable reserves for increasing trade on a more balanced basis. For that, the partners aimed at stepping up work to perfect the structure of reciprocal trade and look for new promising directions and forms of bilateral trade and economic cooperation. The session stressed the need for concluding a long-term trade agreement between the Soviet Union and Australia, which would surely facilitate the implementation of the tasks advanced. Representatives of Australian firms, during their stay in Moscow, held talks at several Soviet foreign trade associations. The Australian delegation was received by Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission at the USSR Council of Ministers, and Vladimir Pavlov, deputy foreign trade minister of the USSR. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 27 May 87 LD] /6662

CSO: 1812/224

HINDI BEAM ON PROPOSED U.S. SUPERCOMPUTER TO INDIA

BK251258 Moscow in Hindi to India 1130 GMT 24 Apr 87

[Aleksandr Malik commentary]

[Text] The press in India has once again started writing in the past few days on India's plan of buying supercomputers from the United States. Our correspondent Aleksandr Malik writes:

It is a known fact that about 2 years ago this question was raised at the India-U.S. official level talks. At that time the senior U.S. officials assured that supercomputers will be supplied to India. They said that America understands India's need of acquiring such a supercomputer for the purpose of studying monsoon forecast. But since then no progress was made in this regard, and it is not clear even today what will be the outcome of the talks with the United States on this issue.

At first India was promised that it would get (Pre FMP) type of supercomputer and now the United States is proposing another model (Tiber) 205, which is quite obsolete. Along with it the U.S. side is also extending several special conditions. Sometimes it is asking India to give the guarantee that under no circumstances the Soviet Union would be allowed to make use of this supercomputer. The Soviet Union has its own computers, which are in no way inferior to the American ones, and to some extent these are better than the Americans'. Then again the United States tries to find a linkage between the supply of supercomputer and India's nuclear program and makes a scotfree claim that the project has military objectives.

But as Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh, who recently visited the United States, has said that the U.S. Administration closes its eyes on Pakistan nuclear preparations because otherwise it jeopardizes its own position. In this regard the Washington authorities do not hesitate to violate their own laws, which forbid giving of military or economic aid to any nation manufacturing nuclear weapons. Washington has pledged that it will provide Pakistan for the next 6 years with more than \$4 billion loan, which will be mostly utilized for the purchase of American arms. On the other hand, America has decided that the U.S. aid to India, which is quite small in size of \$50 million, will be reduced by \$30 million this year. Such

a wide difference in the American attitude toward the two neighboring countries cannot escape the eyes of anyone. The foremost reason for such an American attitude is that the U.S. policy regarding this part of Asia is being determined by the Pentagon's political plans.

Defense Secretary Weinberger has recently reiterated that the U.S. military or economic aid is not a charity, it is being given for the interest of the United States. The availability of this aid depends on the attitude and support of the Asian nations toward the Pentagon's objectives. It is known that Pakistan authorities provide all kinds of facilities at all times to the Pentagon. For instance, American warships often visit Pakistani ports, and permissions were granted to increase the number of American troops, who look after AWACS planes, stationed in Pakistan. It goes without saying that Washington likes this policy of the Islamabad government. On the other hand, the Indian Government's stand is not palatable to them.

The U.S. authorities never try to hide their indignation at India's demand for dismantling of all foreign bases in the Indian Ocean and its opposition to the growing U.S. military strength in Asia. There is also a heaven-and-hell difference in the views of Washington and Delhi on the issues of war and peace, such as a ban on nuclear tests and an end of the nuclear arms race. Speaking in the Parliament recently Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has stressed that all kinds of pressures are being made on the Indian Government so that it abandons its own policy. It is evident that the Reagan administration cannot tolerate India's independent foreign policy. It considers this policy as an undesirable instance for other nonaligned nations. And, thus, the United States is displaying such an adamant attitude on the simple issue of the sale of super-computers to India.

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CSO: 1825/212

U.S. AID TO PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM ASSAILED

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by V. Vinogradov under the rubric "Military-Political Commentary": "Washington's Nuclear Progeny"]

[Text] Washington has played the most active role in turning Pakistan into a nuclear power. Such was the main conclusion arrived at by Indian newspapers commenting on the statements made not long ago by Pakistani physicist A. K. Han.

In his interview with the English weekly "Observer," A. K. Han, head of the complex of secret installations in Hakut where "Project-706" (the code name given by Islamabad to its work on the production of nuclear weapons) has been ongoing for the past several years already, stated that "Pakistan has the atom bomb" and that it had required "eight years in all" to get it. This Pakistani physicist, who is laying claim to the title of "father of the Islamic atom bomb," has taken credit for all contributions towards its development. Even so, this Pakistani "nuclear offspring" doubtlessly has godfathers as well. The Indian press contends that these godfathers reside primarily in Washington.

It was precisely the Americans who at one time supplied Pakistan with a nuclear reactor. Through the mediation of third companies, it was subsequently given access to important American technological secrets in the area of nuclear research. And when a Pakistani citizen was detained at the end of 1984 in the city of Houston while attempting to smuggle a batch of Krytrons--high-speed electron switches--out of the U.S., it turned out that he had been arrested "by mistake," since the arrest was carried out by "over-zealous" customs officials. American newspapers then proceeded to ask a reasonable question: Just how many such Pakistani "smugglers" have been allowed to slip out of the U.S. with no questions asked? Quite a few, apparently. In the same year, Pakistani president General Zia-ul-Haq admitted that the production of enriched uranium had already been organized at a secret plant in Kahut. According to data compiled by special services in the West, this plant has produced enough raw material to make "several" nuclear bombs.

Officials in Washington are intent on ignoring the mounting evidence that Islamabad is working on the development of nuclear weapons. Were this not the case, the White House would have to cut off its massive supply of arms and munitions to Pakistan in compliance with existing legislation in the U.S. Insisting that there is no military aspect to the nuclear program of Islamabad, Washington has over the last five years given Pakistan nearly 3.5 billion dollars in weapons. Among the material received from the U.S. were F-16 fighter-bombers, which have the capacity to carry nuclear weapons. Discussion is currently under way in Congress on the next program of military and economic assistance to Pakistan, which is slated to run for six years at an overall cost of 4.02 billion dollars. Pakistan is also requesting delivery of an additional number of F-16's within the framework of this program, as well as a batch of missiles that could be used as carriers of nuclear weapons.

Will the discovery of A. K. Han have any impact on the upcoming military deal between the U.S. and Pakistan? Indications are that it will not, all the more so since A. K. Han himself has already been quick to "refute" his own interview. As reported by a Washington correspondent for the London INDEPENDENT, the Reagan administration has decided that levying sanctions against Pakistan would not be in the "strategic interests" of the U.S.

These "interests" are common knowledge. Washington sees Pakistan as fulfilling a special role in its military strategic plans against South and Southwestern Asia. It views Pakistani territory as the main springboard for exerting military pressure against states in the region and waging an undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan. Any conceivable nuclear program in Islamabad, the Indian magazine NEW AGE writes in this connection, will still not deter the U.S. from using Pakistan in their adventurist strategic game.

13287/7051

CSO: 1807/292

BRIEFS

CULTURAL ACCORD WITH MALDIVES--Colombo, 13 May (TASS)--TASS correspondent Sergey Spitsin reports. A program of cultural and scientific exchange between the USSR and the Maldives Republic for 1987--in accordance with the agreement between the governments of the two countries on cultural and scientific cooperation, which was concluded in April 1980--has been signed here. It envisages, among other things, that the Soviet side will send to the Maldives a group of artists and a delegation of cinematographers to take part in events to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The sides will promote the development of ties in the fields of education, medicine, and exchange of information on questions of culture and the arts. Ibrahim Hussein Zaki, secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Maldives Republic, pointed out that this document will help consolidate the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 13 May 87 LD] /6662

CSO: 1807/331

ADOPTION, PROVISIONS OF NEW ETHIOPIAN CONSTITUTION DESCRIBED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by I. Tarutin: "Changes in Ethiopia: PRAVDA Correspondent Reports for Addis-Ababa"]

[Text] April--"This is the first democratic constitution, we have never had one before and it is our most important achievement," said Mesfin Wolde-Selassie, a worker in the agricultural ministry, to me. We were speaking near a voting area on one of the streets of Addis-Ababa at a time when a national referendum on the constitution was in progress in the entire country. I heard similar words more than once that day. All of the country's citizens over 18 years of age were being given the opportunity to express their opinion on the draft of the basic law of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Now preparations are being made to create the republic, which will be proclaimed at a date to be announced later.

The current constitution is the third in the history of Ethiopia. The two preceding constitutions were "granted" by Emperor Haile Selassie I to his subjects in 1931 and 1955. They hardly restricted his absolute power and only covered up the arbitrary rule of autocracy to a degree. The submissive parliament, which was "permitted" by the monarch, obediently carried out his will in everything and together with him was hurled into non-existence after the 1974 revolution.

A leading role here was played by progressive army circles. The temporary military administrative council which at that time took upon itself the leadership of the country will now relinquish its power. Leadership will be placed in the hands of a civil administration. In accordance with the constitution a government council headed by a president will have executive power. It will be elected by a National Assembly--the highest lawmaking organ, which will be in the form of a one-house parliament. The composition of deputies will be determined on the basis of general equal and direct elections with secret ballots. They will be, as it is stated, "fully authorized representatives of workers," who thereby will receive the opportunity to participate in state administration.

Introducing the people to public matters and to self-rule was implemented from the very first days of the revolution. At the first stage associations arose

between city dwellers and peasant groups (kebele), which became the organs of local self-government. Mass organizations, women's organizations and youth organizations appeared, trade unions were restructured and unions for people involved in creative endeavors were formed. Extensive work was carried out to build the Workers' Party of Ethiopia. It was this party which directed the process of developing a draft of the fundamental law for the future republic.

During the development of the law an interpretation was made of the experience accumulated during the revolutionary years. That was a complicated time replete not only with victories but also with difficulties and a search for solutions to numerous problems. The constitution summarizes the results of the social transformation of the country. The document was prepared very carefully. In February 1986 a constitutional committee was formed with 350 members chosen from among party, government and public activists, the military, workers, peasants, representatives of the intelligentsia, religious circles and people of different nationalities. In June of last year the constitutional draft was published. It was printed in the newspapers, translated into the languages of the main nationalities and printed in a separate brochure in a million copies.

Then the discussions began. People gathered in modest kebele clubs, in large canvas tents that were hastily put up or simply in the open. I observed how the text and explanations were first listened to in silence, with great attentiveness. Many held in their hands the draft of the constitution and followed along as it was being read. Then questions poured out, sometimes fairly sharp ones, and proposals were made.

There were 25,000 such meetings everywhere from the capital to the most distant border regions. The most varied opinions were expressed. The commission and the RPE [Ethiopian Workers' Party] Central Committee carefully studied them for inclusion of the corresponding corrections in the draft of the constitution. This work took 7 months. At the same time preparations were being made for the national referendum.

Everything possible was done to attract the maximum number of the country's citizens to participate. The type of ballot for voting was carefully thought out. It consisted of a card with two squares. The one in the green border meant "yes," and the black border--"no." The impression in one of these boxes had to be made with a special stamp. This was simple and comprehensible even to those who had not mastered the art of reading in the course of the country's campaign to eliminate illiteracy.

The ballot box also had an unusual appearance. It was made in the form of a sealed pocketbook. It was easy to transport by means of beasts of burden, which are the prevalent means of transportation in rural areas. Horses and mules were needed to get to voting places in mountainous regions or in regions that did not have roads.

On the day of the referendum Addis-Ababa began to stir early. Dressed-up city residents hurried to polling places. In kebele 12 the polling place was located in one of the buildings of the middle school. Sitting at the desks of the classrooms were adults. A large sheet of paper pinned to the blackboard

had a detailed drawing about where to obtain the ballot, where to put the mark and where to place the completed ballot. The instruction took a few minutes, then a new group went in.

Voting took place in the spacious and well-lit ceremonial hall. The imprints were put on the ballot behind a special screen. Then the ballot was folded twice so that no one could see which box was marked, and placed into the ballot box. A committee consisting of well-known residents of the region was in charge of keeping order and adhering to rules. It also had the job of counting the ballots. Precise organization of the referendum could be observed all over the country.

The citizens of Ethiopia supported the constitution because in it they saw the possibility of moving forward, of continuing those changes for the better that the revolution had brought. Of the 14 million plus voters, 81 percent voted "for" and 18 percent voted "against." Not everyone in the country is happy with the changes that are taking place in the country. Opponents to them are anti-government separatist movements, people who long for bygone days, and various declassified elements.

We cannot forget about the backwardness of thought in the group that is tied to the old style of life or about the customs and survivals which surfaced during the discussions on the constitutional draft. For example, the article forbidding polygamy had to be deleted. Berhanu Bayu, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RPE and Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaking at a press conference after the publication of the draft text with corrections, said that when he visited Moslem regions, the majority of women supported the article against polygamy, but the men got the upper hand. This reflects inadequate consciousness. There are people whom the revolution has not yet reached, said Comrade Berhanu frankly.

In and of itself the constitution does not eliminate poverty and will not provide food, housing and clothing for all who need it, but it represents a foundation for the building of a new life, says Yayehirad Kityu, Director of the Institute of Nationalities, who took an active part in preparation of a draft of the basic law. He especially emphasizes that the law proclaims the equality of all nations and nationalities. In Ethiopia the problem of nationalities is fairly acute and movement toward a solution is systematic but slow. In particular, it has been proposed to carry out additional consultations here for the creation of administrative and autonomous territories, as foreseen by the constitution. Their borders and status will be finalized by the National Assembly.

Government restructuring which is taking place in Ethiopia is a difficult process. A goal has been set to constantly attract the masses for active building of the new life. As written in the article of the first fundamental law of the future republic, Ethiopia will become a workers' state with a political base in the union of workers and peasants in cooperation with the intelligentsia, the revolutionary army, artisans and other democratic strata of society. It has been noted that during the process of completing the national-democratic revolution we will lay the foundation for the building of socialism. Gradually we must implement the principle of "from each according

to his abilities to each according to his labor." The constitution is an important and natural step forward on the path toward a republic and toward the creation of a society that achieves equality and the flourishing of the Ethiopian people.

At a recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Workers' Party it was noted that the main task is now to carry out elections to the National Assembly. The presentation of candidates, it was said there, must be genuinely democratic in nature. The candidate must possess the qualities of respect and reputation among his fellow citizens, he must have the qualities necessary to justify the trust of the masses and he must actively participate in the activities of the parliament.

The newspaper ETHIOPIAN HERALD writes that the formation of the parliament with the extensive participation of the people and political organizations will be a manifestation of the practical implementation of the constitution's resolutions.

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